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Joinville (Jean), sire de

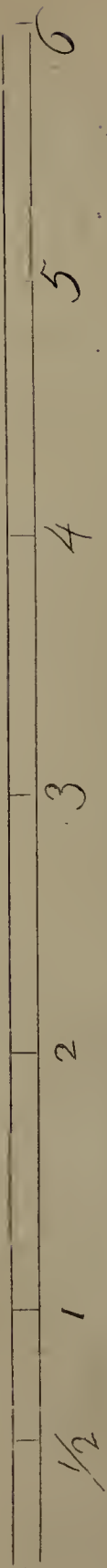
MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, &c.

3 maps 3rd to 4th edition



Scale of feet

The Lord de Joinville.

from his Monument.

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MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,
GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE,
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;
CONTAINING
A HISTORY OF PART OF THE LIFE OF LOUIS IX.
KING OF FRANCE, SURNAMED SAINT LOUIS,
INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THAT KING'S EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN THE YEAR MCCXLVIII.

To which are added,—the
NOTES & DISSERTATIONS OF M. DU CANGE ON THE ABOVE; TOGETHER WITH
THE DISSERTATIONS OF M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE ON THE LIFE OF ST LOUIS,
M. L'EVEQUE DE LA RAVALIERE AND M. FALCONET
ON THE ASSASSINS OF SYRIA;

From the 'Memoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres et Inscriptions de France.'

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED
BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

VOL. I.



At the hafod press,
BY JAMES HENDERSON.

MDCCCVII.

TO

HUGH SMITH, ESQ.

OF LINCOLN'S INN, AND OF STOKE D'ABERNON IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED,

IN

GRATITUDE FOR HIS STEADY

AND

PERSEVERING FRIENDSHIP,

BY

HIS MUCH OBLIGED

AND SINCERE FRIEND,

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Feb. 9. 1807.

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OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

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A View of the Town & Castle of Joinville.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PERSON AND MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

From the first Volume of Les Memoires Historiques.

THE genealogy of the family of Joinville, which immediately follows, and which unites, with the eulogium of that honest seneschal, an abridgement of his life by Du Cange, renders it unnecessary for us to say much respecting his birth, his private history, and the epoch of his death. We shall only observe, that two academicians differ in opinion with Du Cange, as to the year in which the lord de Joinville was born.

M. de la Bastie fixes on the year 1228 or 1229 *, and M. l'Evêque de la Ravalere on 1224 †, while Du Cange asserts that he was born in 1220.

It will be sufficient to say here, that Joinville was attached, from his youngest years, to the court of Thibaud, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, and that he early acquired all the knowledge of that age, and shewed himself afterwards equal to his most enlightened contemporaries.

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip. tom. xv. pp. 696. 737.

† Idem. 4to edit.

His society being courted, on account of his family-connections and his personal qualities, he accompanied Louis IX. in all his expeditions, excepting that to Tunis, which he declined, from a foresight of its unfortunate termination. The familiarity with which Louis honoured him, gave him an opportunity of tracing the links of every event of his reign. The candour and simplicity of the recital which he has left us of these events afford strong proofs of his exactness. He does not extend his account of facts farther than what he personally witnessed.

We do not think the ingenuous narration of this loyal servant of St Louis can be read without emotion, when, having given his opinion in the council to remain in Palestine, contrary to that of the other members, he is fearful of having lost the affection of his virtuous master. We imagine ourselves present at one of those affecting scenes, when Henry IV. and Sully made up their quarrels.

These memoirs, which Joinville finished in 1309, and published after the death of Philip the fair, have always been highly esteemed by the public.

Although they include a space but of six years, they give us sufficient information respecting the military system of those days, and the principles of administration adopted by St Louis. They present to us a faithful picture of the customs and manners of our ancestors: they charm us by the affecting simplicity of style, which is one of its greatest merits; and if we wish to become acquainted with the noble mind of St Louis, it is in them displayed with the most exact truth.

Among the different editions of these memoirs, the two most approved of are the edition of Du Cange printed in 1668, and the one published by the late M. Capperonnier in 1761. Each of them makes one volume folio.

Whatever may be the merit of the edition of 1761, for which we are indebted to three men of letters*, we have thought it right to prefer the edition of Du Cange. The public opinion, as well as that of several learned friends, has determined us to make this choice†. It is not surprising that

* M. M. Saltier, Melot, and Capperonnier.

† Among others, M. de Fontette says in his *Supplement to the Bibliotheque Historique of Pere du Long*, tom iv. p. 388,

“The new edition of Joinville ought not to prevent our having recourse to that of M. du Cange, on account of the important observations which he has added to it.”

the edition of Du Cange has preserved its great reputation ; for that of 1761, notwithstanding the glossary which has been added to it, would not be intelligible for three-fourths of its readers, who, unless perfectly well versed in the old french language, would be fatigued and disgusted with it.

The remarks and dissertations with which Du Cange has enriched his edition, clear up a number of important facts contained in the memoirs of Joinville. They throw the greatest light on many points which are particularly connected with the customs of that period, with the institution of chivalry and its duties, and which forms a part of our national antiquities. Even the erudition which they contain, though unpleasant in its form, seemed to us too precious to be withheld from our subscribers.

We have come to this determination, first, on account of the difficulty, we had almost said the impossibility, of reading the text of the edition of 1761 ; and, secondly, on account of the necessity of preserving that of Du Cange, in order to add his remarks and observations, which cannot be detached from it. With regard to their erudition, which we have just mentioned, it must be remembered, that the object of this collection is to amuse and instruct. It will therefore be necessary to insert in it every thing that has a marked character of utility, that it may be referred to when wanted. This piece, besides, is of so singular a nature, that our collection will contain few that are like it.

We have divided the text of Joinville, and the remarks and dissertations of his learned commentator, in such wise, that the whole will form three volumes octavo ; and to render this edition as perfect as possible, we have compared that of Du Cange with the one of 1761 ; and those passages of the latter which Du Cange had rejected, will be placed at the end of the text as variations, should it be thought necessary.

We have done more : we have added to our edition extracts from arabian manuscripts, which speak of the historical events of the reign of St Louis. These extracts, drawn up by M. Cardonne, which we take from the edition of 1761, give details which are both instructive and pleasing to read. They confirm the truth of the narrations of the lord de Joinville. The result of our plan, by thus giving the memoirs of Joinville, will be the union of every historical proof, so as to make them perfect, and to cause the

two folio editions of Du Cange and Capperonnier to become almost useless.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE IN CHAMPAGNE, WITH
AN EULOGIUM AND ABRIDGEMENT OF THE LIFE OF JOHN LORD DE
JOINVILLE, SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, THE AUTHOR OF THIS
HISTORY,—BY CHARLES DU FRESNE, SIEUR DU CANGE, &c.

AMONG the families who have held the highest rank at the court of the counts of Champagne, that of Joinville is one of the most illustrious. It was greatly distinguished there on account of the antiquity of its race and its noble connections. The great men who have descended from it are not less renowned in history by their valour than celebrated for the honours and great possessions which they held, as well in France as in the kingdoms of Naples and England. It takes its name of Joinville from a small town in Champagne, situated on the river Marne, between Chaumont and Saint Dizier, which, according to the opinion of a learned man of this age*, was formerly called Jovis Villa, or Jupiter's Town, and this is confirmed by old deeds; whether that, during the time of paganism, it was consecrated to that divinity, or that it derived the appellation from a temple having been there erected in honour of Jupiter. It is, however, more probable that the name of Jovis Villa was given to it from its connection with that of Joinville; for, in like manner, the chronicle of Bese†, speaking of Guy de Jonvelle, of whom mention is made in the history of the house of Vergy‡, surnames him lord of Jovis Villa, unless we ought to read, as I should suppose, Jonis Villa: but all these conjectures are more ingenious than probable, for it is certain that the house of Joinville takes its name from that of Joigny, Joingny or Joiny, as it was anciently written, from whence it sprung, as we shall now see in the following succinct genealogy of that family.

* Sirmond. ad Ep. Alexandri III. PP. To. 4. Spicil. p. 242, 243.

† Chr. Besuense, p. 669.

‡ Hist. de Vergy, p. 153.

I. Stephen, furnamed de Vaux, laid the foundation of the grandeur of the house of Joinville, which was greatly increased by the marriage which Engelbert, the third of the name, count de Brienne, procured for him with the countess of Joigny. She was the only daughter and heiress of Fromont count de Joigny and d'Adelais, who after the death of her husband married the count Engelbert, who had numbered Stephen among his retainers.

This illustrious alliance brought him the county of Joigny, and several lordships dependant on it. Albericus * observes, that he built the castle of Joinville, to which he gave this name as an abbreviation of Joigny-ville, calling it thus as being the town and castle of the county of Joigny; for this reason, the lords of Joinville are called in many latin deeds which I have seen, de Joingnivilla, or Jonivilla, as the word is thus expressed on the seal of John lord of Joinville affixed to deeds of the year 1256 †. Albericus adds, that when he married he fixed his residence near to Saint Urbain ‡. The arms which this family bears being similar to those of the house of Broyes in the same county, excepting the crest of Joinville, may lead us to suppose that those two families have the same origin, and that Stephen, the first lord of Joinville, was the younger brother of Ifambart, lord of Broyes and of Beaufort, and son of Renaud de Broyes and of Helvise.

Each of these families bore for arms a field azure with three Broyes or § (which some heralds suppose to be certain wooden instruments that are used for bruising and breaking hemp and lint), that of Joinville having, for distinction, a crest of a demi-lion gules on a field argent, which is no uncommon brisure, and a mark of a younger child: it is even probable that the lion in the arms of Joinville may be the armorial coat of the ancient counts of Joigny, and Stephen may have been furnamed de Vaux from having perhaps possessed the viscounty of Vaux, near Pithivers, a place which had belonged to the family of Broyes.

* Alb. 1055.

† Vetus Gen. Domus de Joinvilla.

‡ St Urbain is a town in Champagne, about a league from Joinville.

§ Segoin.

ISSUE OF STEPHEN LORD OF JOINVILLE.

GEOFFRY I. COUNT OF JOIGNY.

II. Geoffry, the first of the name count of Joigny and lord of Joinville, surnamed le Vieil, succeeded his father and mother in these lordships. With the consent of his son Geoffry, and Hodierne his wife, he made several donations to the church of Vaucouleurs, a dependance on the abbey of Molemes*, which were confirmed by Pibon bishop of Toul. By another deed, he gave an estate in land to this monastery, to enable the abbot to build an abbey in the same situation with Vaucouleurs. He made many more gifts to this abbey and its abbot Robert, with the approbation of his son. He is called, in these last deeds of gift, Gaufridus de Juncivilla†. He died the 25th January 1080. His wife named Blanche, in a charter of the abbey of Môtier en Der, was sister of Arnold canon of Verdun: by her, he had the following children.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY I.

Guy I. count de Joigny, made a journey to the holy land, in the year 1096, and died without issue‡.

Renaud I. succeeded his brother, but died without posterity by Vindemode his wife.

Geoffry II. count of Joigny.

Hilduin de Joigny, lord of Nevilly, died in the flower of his age, and among other children left Gautier and Gutier de Joigny, who died without children, and Hesceline lady of Nevilly, married to Guy d'Aigremont, son of Fouques d'Aigremont, lord of Sarcelle, by whom she had Guerrie,

* Cartulary of Molemes.

† Marty. du Prieuré de Joigny.

‡ Necrol. Joviniac.

father to Gautier de Nevilly. This Guy d'Aigremont was twin-brother to Tesselin Jor de Fontaines, father to Saint Bernard abbot of Clervaux*.

Geoffry II. of the name, count of Joigny and lord of Joinville†, following the example of his father, made many donations to the abbey of Molemes, in conjunction with the countess Hodierna de Courtenay, his wife, which donations were confirmed by Ricuin bishop of Toul, who held that bishopric from the year 1107 to 1126‡.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY II.

Walfrid or Geoffry de Joinville is first named with his brothers, Renard and Roger, in a title of the abbey of Bouillencourt in the diocese of Troyes. It is probable he had no posterity.

Renard count of Joigny, from whom descended the other counts of Joigny of whom we will give an account hereafter.

Roger, lord of Joinville.

Hadwide de Joigny, lady of Aspremont, left a numerous issue.

Roger de Joigny had for his patrimony the lordship of Joinville, the surname of which he and his posterity have since borne. He was present when Hugh count of Champagne made his donation to the church of Saint Oyen d'Ioux, in the town of Bar, 1001. He was also in the abbey of Molémes in 1104, with Erard I. count de Brienne, Hugh count de Risnel, Miles count de Bar sur Seine, Hugh Borel duke of Burgundy, and William count de Nevers, when this count confirmed the donations which he had made to the monastery at the council held in Troyes§. He surrendered, in the year 1112, the village of Saint Remy, in which he had been infeoffed by the count de Brienne, to Roger abbot of Môtier en Der, in presence of the said count and Miles count de Bar. He married Aldear de Vignorrey, daughter of Guy lord of Vignorrey and of Beatrice de Bourgoyne, daughter

* Alber. 1110.

† Idem. 1080. 1110.

‡ Cart. de Molémes.

§ Cart. de Molémes. To. 4. Spic. p. 242, 243. S. Ber. Gen. Affert. p. 509.

to Robert of France duke of Burgundy, by whom he had several children*.

ISSUE OF ROGER LORD OF JOINVILLE.

Geoffry III. lord of Joinville continued the posterity. Robert de Joinville gave his consent to the foundation of the monastery of St Urbain de Joinville, undertaken by his brother Geoffry in the year 1168. Guy de Joinville, bishop of Châlons, in the year 1163† is called uncle of Geoffry, the young lord of Joinville, in an epistle which the chapter of this church wrote to the king of France, Louis le Jeune‡.

Beatrice de Joinville was married to the count de Grand-pré, whom I believe to have been count Henry III. who was buried in the monastery of Foigny, according to Albericus.

N. de Joinville, abbeſs of Avenay. There is in the cartulary of Champagne, in the library of M. de Thou§, a letter from William aux Blanche-mains, archbishop of Rheims and cardinal, to Thibaud count de Champagne, his nephew, in which he excuses himself for having caused the aunt of Geoffry de Joinville to be elected abbeſs of that convent without his consent, plainly acknowledging that ſuch elections cannot be made without the consent of the count.

Geoffry III. of the name, lord of Joinville, was furnamed the Old, whether on account of his age, or to make a diſtinction between him and his ſon, who bore the ſame name. He was alſo called the Big, according to the teſtimony of Albericus||, and ſome deeds. He was a child in the year

* Alber. 1110.

† Alber. 1163.

‡ To. 4. Hiſt. Fr. p. 682.—Jo. Sarisb. Ep. 143.—Camusat aux Antiq. de Troyes, p. 379.

§ Cart. Camp. biblio. Th. f. 308.

|| Albericus was a monk, and lived in the abbey of Trois Fontaines, in the dioceſe of Châlons, about the middle of the 13th century. He has left a chronicle of the remarkable events that have happened ſince the creation to the year 1241, which Leibnitz had printed at Leipſic, in 4to, 1698.

Gibert, having diſcovered a more complete manuſcript in the french national library, was deſirous to publiſh it with notes; but this project has hitherto remained unexecuted.—*Nouveau Diſt. Hiſt.*

1127 ; and having attained the age of maturity, signalized his courage in the wars of his time. His good qualities gained him the favour of Henry I. count of Champagne, who gave the office of seneschal of that province to him and to his heirs ; and in this quality his name is subscribed to some title-deeds in the year 1154. He had disputes with the abbot and monks of Montier en Der *, on the subject of some of his allodial lands in Doulevant, which he terminated amicably in the year 1184, and died about that time. He left behind him many marks of his piety, in the foundation of the monasteries of Escure, of the order of Cîteaux, which he established in 1144 ; of St Urbain de Joinville, of the order of Prémonstré, founded in 1168 ; of the house of Mascon, of the order of Gramont ; of the priory of runs of the order of St Benedict, called the Val Dofne, dependant on Molemes, which he founded in conjunction with his mother and his son Geoffry ; and of the church of St Laurence, in the castle of Joinville. He was married to Felicitas de Brienne, daughter of Award I. count de Brienne and Alix de Roucy. This lady was married in the year 1110 to Simon I. lord of Broyes †, and of Beaufort sur Baye, and was living with her second husband in the year 1168, when she gave her consent to the foundation of the abbey of St Urbain ‡.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY III. LORD OF JOINVILLE BY FELICITAS DE BRIENNE.

Geoffry IV. of the name, lord of Joinville.

Gertrude de Joinville, married to Gerard II. lord of Vaudemont.

Geoffry IV. lord of Joinville, was surnamed Vasset, that is to say esquire, and the Young, which surnames he bore before he had received the order of knighthood, and during the life of his father, who was surnamed the Old. He succeeded him in the lordship of Joinville, and in the dignity of seneschal of Champagne, about the year 1184. He gave proofs of his courage in all the wars in which he was engaged, more especially in those of the holy land, whither he had gone, in company with the french lords. He was

* Cartul. de Monst. en Der.

† Hist. de Broves, c. 6.

‡ Alberic.

present at the siege of Acre, and had the reputation of being the best knight of the age; an eulogium which John lord of Joinville, his grandson, and author of this history gives him on the monument which he raised to him at Clervaux, where he was interred. He married a lady of the name of Helvidia, whom the reverend father, don Peter de Sainte Catherine, a feuillant monk, believes to have been of the family of Dampierre in Champagne, on account of the lands of Mailley and of Remignicourt, which she had for her portion, according to a title-deed of the abbey of St Urbain of the year 1188.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY IV. LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY HELVIDIA DE DAMPIERRE.

Geoffry V. lord of Joinville.

Robert de Joinville put on the cross with his brother Geoffry, count Thibaud, and other lords of Champagne, in the year 1199. He afterwards accompanied Walter III. count de Brienne, in his expedition to la Puglia, to recover the kingdom of Sicily, which he pretended was his in right of his wife, daughter of king Tancred, and there ended his days without leaving any posterity*.

Simon de Joinville, lord of Joinville, succeeded after the decease of his brother Geoffry, but died without children†.

William de Joinville was first archdeacon of Châlons and professor of theology‡, then elected bishop of Langres, and at last promoted to the archbishoprick of Rheims||. He died in the year 1236, on his return from the war against the Albigeois.

* Alberic. 1201.

† Ditto, 1208, 1219.

‡ La Chron. de Flandres, p. 48.

|| To. 1. Bibl. Labb. p. 392. Philippes Mouskes X. Alberic. 1201. Menard.

Philip Mouskes was a contemporary with St Louis, and died bishop of Tournay 1283. He wrote a history of France in verse, of which only a fragment has been hitherto published, consisting of events from the year 1198 to 1242, at the end of Villehardouin by Du Cange.

Guy de Joinville, lord of Saily, is named lord of Joinville in several title deeds with his brother Simon, in the years 1210 and 1215. By the last deed he receives again in fief and liege homage, to Thibaud, count of Champagne, and with the consent of his brother, the village of Domines, which he had before held of him *. By another deed, of the month of August in the year 1221 †, he signs an act of acknowledgement to the same count, and to the countess Blanche, his mother, that he holds from them the castle and burgh of Juilly, on the terms of giving them his oath of fidelity, and of surrendering it to any force, great or small, whom they might send against it. The cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts, has a similar deed of the year 1206 ‡, wherein it is declared, that the burgh and dependencies of Juilly were held directly from Clerambeau de Chappes, his nephew ||. He married Peronnelle de Chappes, lady of Juilly, and of Chanlot, daughter to Guy de Chappes, lord of Juilly, by a lady named Peronnelle, and had by her, among other children, Robert lord of Juilly, William lord of Juilly, Agnes de Juilly, lady of Dommartin, married to Ansel, lord of Dampierre in Estenois, and left widow in 1259. Peronnelle, lady of Château-commun, near Meaux, married to John Charin, knight, styles herself, in a title-deed in the Tresor des Chartes, of the year 1274, sister to Philip de Juilly ¶.

Robert de Joinville, lord of Juilly, had for his wife Aufelix, named with her husband in a deed of John lord of Joinville, in the year 1256, from whom were born Guy and Simon de Juilly, knights: they are named in the summons issued by king Philip le Bel, in the month of April of the year 1303 **, to the nobility of Champagne, to assemble at Lagny, three weeks after Easter, to follow him to the war.

* Cart. de Champ. de M. de Thou, p. 121.

† Tres. des Chartes du Roi, Layette Champagne, iv. tit. 10. 11. Lib. princip. p. 86.

‡ Tres. de Chartres, Layette, dons et aumones, tit. 3. lib. princip.

|| Hist. de Vergy, p. 250.

¶ Tres des Chart. Layette Champ. vi. tit. 9. Champ. xi. tit. 85.

** M. Perard en son recueil de Bourg. p. 484.

Guy de Joinville is stiled lord of Saily in a deed of the year 1300 *, of which I shall speak hereafter. He died probably without posterity, and was succeeded in his property by his brother. I know not, if it be this Guiot de Joinville, knight, whose moveable fiefs in the county of Burgundy were given by the emperor Adolphus in the year 1296, to Henry count de Bar, in addition to other fiefs which he held in the empire.

Simon de Joinville lord of Saily, to whom an author † gives for arms gules chef argent, and a bend with the arms of Joinville. He was twice married, first to Alix de Saiffe Fontaine, lady of Clermont, by whom he had John, Robert, Agnel, Jeannot, and Aufelix de Joinville or de Juilly. Simon espoused for his second wife a lady of the name of Mary, by whom he had Guy de Joinville lord of Clermont, Agnes, and Lore lady des Chanéts, who married in the year 1326 ‡ John de Jaucourt, called de Dinterville, lord of Polify, bailiff of Châlons, Dijon, and of the lands ultra Saonne.

With regard to William de Joinville, youngest son of Guy, lord of Saily, he is regularly described as son of Guy de Saily in an ancient register || of fiefs. He is again mentioned in an old list of copy-holders in Champagne of the year 1270; and in a title-deed of 1276 §, under the name of William de Joinville lord of Julley. His wife is in that deed named Marie de Tanlay, whom some stile daughter of Robert de Courtenay lord of Tanlay. He had by her, as I believe, John lord of Juilly, who in 1312 ¶ transferred to Louis, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, two hundred livres of annual rents, arising from lands in Fonchieres, Savoye, Bierne and elsewhere. This transaction appears also from deeds of the year 1314.

* Tit. de la Chr. des Compt.

† Provincial MS. Invent. des tit. de Lorraine.

‡ Melanges Hist. de Camusat.

|| Cout. de Champ. art. 22. 36.

§ Rouer. in Reomao, p. 647. 649.

¶ Tref. des Chart. Layette Chartres i. tit. 381.

William de Juilly, knight, who was killed at the battle of Saint Omer in 1339, as is noticed in the accounts of Bartholomew du Drach*, treasurer of war to the king of France, was likewise the son of William and Mary de Tanlay.

Andrew de Joinville, a knight-templar, mentioned by Albericus.

Joland de Joinville, married Raoul count de Soissons. From this marriage sprung John count de Soissons, whom John lord of Joinville calls his cousin-german.

Alix de Joinville, married Geoffry de Faucoigny knight†, and had issue James de Faucoigny, or Fauquigny, knight, who was of the chivalry of Philip son to the king of France, at the feast of Pentecost in the year 1267, as I learn from a roll of the expenses of that ceremony, in which he is entitled nephew to the seneschal of Champagne. Father Peter of St Catherine imagines that this Alix was daughter to Robert de Saily, by his wife Aufelix.

Felicitas de Joinville espoused Peter de Bourlaimont, and was mother to Geoffry de Bourlaimont, named with her in a title-deed of 1237. Vassebourg and des Roziars give other daughters to Geoffry IV. one of whom, perhaps, may have been the wife of Oger de Dongeux, lord de la Fauche.

Geoffry V. lord of Joinville, furnamed Troullart, as we learn from his epitaph in the abbey of Clervaux, succeeded his father in the estates of Joinville and the seneschalship of Champagne, before the year 1197; which title he takes this year in a deed, wherein mention is also made of his brothers Robert and Simon. Thus it must have been he who assisted, with the other great officers and barons of Champagne, at the court and solemn assembly which Thibaud V. son of Henry count of Champagne, held in the town of Chartres 1199 to determine on § the dower of his wife Blanche, daughter to the king of Navarre. This same year he put on the

* Compt. du Drach.

† Cartul. de l'Eveché de Langres.

Tit. de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris.

§ Villehard. n. 3.

cross with the count and other barons of Champagne, among whom were Robert de Joinville his brother, to undertake an expedition to the holy land *.

On the death of Thibaud, two years after, the croisading barons entreated Geoffry to accompany Matthew de Montmorency and Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and offer him the command of the croisaders of Champagne in the place of their late count. The duke having refused this, the lord of Joinville and the two others were desired to wait on Thibaud count de Bar, and make him a similar offer.

The object of this expedition having been changed to that of Constantinople, and many of the croisaders having quitted the road to Venice for other routes that would carry them sooner to the holy land, there is reason to suppose that the lord de Joinville was of the number; for, besides that Villehardouin does not speak of him in his history of Constantinople, the epitaph at Clervaux sufficiently informs us that he went to Palestine, and there performed such gallant exploits as fixed his fame as a valiant knight. He ended his days without leaving any posterity †, for I have not observed that he was ever married. John lord of Joinville, his nephew, brought back his shield from Palestine when he went thither with Saint Louis; that is to say, he took it from the church wherein he had been buried, and where it was suspended over his tomb, and placed it in the church of Saint Laurence, within his castle of Joinville, to preserve the memory of so great a man, and to invite the faithful to pray to God in his behalf. The terms of the inscription at Clervaux are,—‘ The shield of him whose prowess was so remarkable that king Richard of England did him the honour to permit him to quarter the arms of England with his own :’ from which we may draw this inference, that Geoffry accompanied his father to the siege of Acre, and that, on his having signalized himself there more than any of the other barons, king Richard, desirous of bearing testimony to his extraordinary valour, and of recompensing his merits, had gratified him with an honour that was both unusual and very rare at that

* Villehard. n. 20.

† Alberic. 1201.

period, permitting him to quarter the arms of England, which circumstance strongly marked the esteem which he had for this lord.

The cartulary of Champagne mentions two charters signed by him; one of the month of June 1199, by which he declares that none of his vassals may buy or receive in pledge any of the lands or vassals that in any way appertain to the countess Blanche. By the other, which is of the year 1201, he restores, at the entreaty of this countess, to Guy du Plessis, brother of Eustace de Conflans, cousin to Geoffry, five hundred livres, which count Thibaud had bequeathed to Eustace: in these deeds, he is styled Gauffridus de Joignivilla.

Simon lord of Joinville succeeded his brother Geoffry IV. in his estates and dignities before the year 1206. He had a dispute respecting the seneschalship of Champagne, with Blanche countess of Champagne, and her son Thibaud, on one hand, and with Simon, master of Joinville, who claimed that dignity as an hereditary right to him and his family, in consequence of the concession that had been made by Geoffry IV. his father*. But without prejudice to this claim, the countess Blanche, as guardian and tutor to her son, until he should be of the age of twenty-one years, received his liege homage, not only for the seneschalship of Champagne, but also for the lordship of Joinville, on condition, that if the young count, when of the proper age, was unwilling to agree to this investiture, the two parties should remain as they were before it took place, and might dispute the matters in any manner they should think proper. By a deed in the month of August 1214, Simon promises to assist count Thibaud against the daughters of count Henry, and against all other persons. Notwithstanding this treaty, the lord of Joinville was disturbed in the enjoyment of the seneschalship by the countess, which induced him to renounce his homage, and unite himself with her enemies: probably with the duke of Lorraine, who at that moment was at war with Champagne.

The chronicle of Vigois mentions that he was in company with Thibaud when the duke flew his uncle, Macher, bishop of Toul. But when afterwards a peace was concluded between the countess and the duke,

* Cartul. de Champ.

a private treaty was made between the countess and the lord of Joinville, in order to secure his friendship* ; for the words of the act are, ‘ pro bono pacis, et ut ipsum ad amorem nostrum reduceremus.’ † They granted the seneschalship of Champagne to him, and to his heirs for ever, with a promise from count Thibaud to ratify this agreement as soon as he should be of a proper age ; and to invest his eldest son Geoffry with this dignity, saving the right of his father Simon to enjoy it as long as he should live.

On these conditions, the lord of Joinville engaged to renew his homage to the countess and to her son, and to assist them against Erard de Brienne and his wife. For the better security of keeping these articles, he bound himself to place in their hands his fief of la Fouche as soon as he should be in the possession of it ; to deliver to them his son Geoffry as an hostage, and to put his castle of Joinville into the hands of his brother, the bishop of Langres, agreeing that in case of any failure on his part, of the conditions of the treaty, without making suitable amends for any such failure, within forty days, the castle of Joinville should be surrendered to the countess and her son, or that of Vaucouleurs. This was concluded the Thursday after Whitsuntide, in the month of June 1218 ‡.

In consequence of this agreement, Simon did homage to the count of Champagne for the office of seneschal, and at the same time set out for the holy land, where, on his arrival, he was present among the french nobility at the siege which the king of Jerusalem, John de Brienne, was carrying on against Damietta, and at the capture of that place from the infidels ||.

The treaties which he had made with the countess and her son, did not last long, for the count, when of age, wanted to undo all that had been done by his mother and himself when a minor : in consequence of this, another transaction took place between them during the octave of Whitsuntide in the year 1224 §, in which Thibaud granted to the lord of

* Rich. Mon. in Chron. vol. c. 57.

† Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou, p. 60 et suiv.

‡ Du Tillet. Menard.

|| Du Tillet.

§ Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou. f. 71, 72, 311.

Joinville, and to his heir, the feneschalship of Champagne *, without prejudice to the pretended right of the master of Joinville.

Simon was afterwards present, that same year, when the count and other barons of the country assembled to regulate among themselves the portions for the male children of the nobility †. He then, with the consent of his wife Beatrice, made a donation to the abbey of Molémes ‡, of the grange and ox stalls at Vaucouleur, for the scite of a chapel to be erected in honour of St Laurence.

In the year 1227, count Thibaud being again menaced by the barons of France, who had made war on him, under pretence of supporting the queen of Cyprus in her quarrel with the count of Champagne, but in reality because he had taken part with their king, Saint Louis, Simon flung himself into the town of Troyes at the request of the inhabitants, and exerted himself so effectually in his preparations, that the barons who intended attacking it were forced to give up their design, and pass by. He was likewise, in 1230 ||, with Matthew duke of Lorraine, in his war against the count de Bar, at which time his wife Beatrice gave him powers to hold the castle of Marnay from Hugh duke of Burgundy, which was her own property. This act is dated September in the same year §. It is also mentioned in some deeds of the abbey of St Remy of Rheims in the year 1232 ¶. He was dead before the year 1235; for in that year Beatrice styles herself his widow, and executrix of his will. He was twice married; first to Ermengarde, lady of Moncler, in the diocese of Treves, about the year 1206, as he acknowledges in his letters of the month of June in that year, in which he declares that he grants, as her dower, one half of the lands he possessed as vassal to Blanche, countess of Champagne, who receives her as her vassal,

* L'an. Coût. de Champ. art. 1.

† Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou. f. 31. and 314

‡ Cart. de Molémes.

|| Alberic. 1215, 1217, 1230.

§ M. Perard, p. 416.

¶ Menard, Tit. de l'abb de Bouillencourt.

at the entreaty of her husband, but without prejudice to his rights during his life. She was daughter to Wiric lord of Walcourt, who founded the abbey of Friestorff, in the diocese of Mets, in the year 1130, with Adelais his wife and children, that is to say, Arnold, Thierry, and five daughters*.

Arnold, lord of Walcourt, built the castle of Moncler, in the year 1180, and had for daughter and heiress Ermengarde the wife of Simon. She was living with him in the year 1218, as appears from some deeds of the month of July in that year, by which she renounces the dower her husband had settled on her, in consideration of his giving her the lordship of Vaucouleur, and of Montier sur Soat, mention is also made in this deed of her eldest son Geoffry, who at that time was fifteen years old.

Ermengarde died about this period, and Simon took for his second wife Beatrice†, daughter of Stephen count of Burgundy, and of Auxonne, by Beatrice, countess of Châlons, and sister to John count de Châlons, whom John lord of Joinville in his history calls uncle. It is on account of this alliance that he gives the same title to Jofferand II. lord of Brancion, although he was removed some degrees, and only his welfh uncle; for William I. count de Châlons, had two children, William II. and a daughter married to Jofferand I. lord of Brancion, father of Henry, from whom proceeded Jofferand II. William II. count de Châlons, was father to William III. count de Châlons, who was father to Beatrice, countess of Châlons, married to Stephen, count d'Auxonne; and from them sprung this Beatrice, who brought, as her portion, the lordship of Marnay, situated in the duchy of Burgundy‡, on which account Simon had a dispute with his brother-in-law, John count de Châlons, who yielded him the possession in consideration of his promise to assist him against all the world, except the count de Champagne, the duke of Lorraine, and the count de Luxembourg, as appears from an act made in the month of July 1325§. She survived her husband, leaving behind her several children by him. Count Stephen, her

* Brower. l. 14. Annal. Trevir. p. 813.

† Hist. de la Maison de Vergy, l. 2. c. 9.

‡ Reg. des fiefs de Bourgogne.

§ Le P. Chifflet en sa Batrix, n. 91.

father, made her executrix of his will in the year 1240 : she herself died on the 20th day of April in the year 1260, and was buried in the chapter house of the abbey of la Charité, with this epitaph :

‘ Here lies the lady Beatrice, daughter to count Stephen, and lady of Marnay and Guyenville.’

ISSUE OF SIMON LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ERMENGARDE HIS FIRST WIFE.

Geoffry de Joinville was the eldest son of Simon, by Ermengarde, his first wife, to whom he succeeded in the lordship of Moncler. He married Marie de Garlande, daughter of William de Garlande, the fifth of the name, lord of Livry, by Alix de Chastillon, at that time widow of Henry count de Grand-pré *.

Thibaud count de Champagne was present at the signing of the marriage-contract, and pledged himself to the countess of Grand-pré for the fulfilment of the articles of the dower, as appears from the deeds of Simon lord of Joinville of the year 1230. But this marriage was dissolved by the authority of the church, and by a definitive sentence of the archbishop of Rheims, as is expressly mentioned in the marriage-contract between John de Joinville, brother to Geoffry, and Alix, daughter to this same Marie de Garlande and Henry count de Grand-pré, her first husband, by which Simon lord of Joinville is bound to have the above sentence confirmed by his son Geoffry †.

This marriage has been erroneously supposed by some to have taken place between Geoffry, surnamed Trouillard, de Joinville, according to whom Marie was married a third time to Anseric III. lord of Montréal in the duchy of Burgundy. The register of the fiefs in Champagne ‡ tells us, that Geoffry did liege homage to the count of Champagne for his part of

* Lib. prin. de la Chambre des Comptes à Paris.

† Du Chefne en l'hist. de Chast. l. 2. c. 12.—en l'hist. des Ducs de Bourg. c. 5.—en l'hist. de Dreux, l. 1. c. 1. p. 26.

‡ Feoda Campana, de la Chambre des Comptes, f. 113.

the succession of his father, for the dignity of sénéchal when it should fall to him after his decease, and also for the lease from the count of Grand-pré, for the dower and portion of the countess his wife, by whom he had no children. After her death, which happened before that of her father, the castle and lordship of Moncler, by default of heirs, returned to the church of Treves, of which Theodoric II. was at that time archbishop*.

Ifabella de Joinville married Simon lord of Clermont, with whom she was living in the year 1233.

Beatrice de Joinville was the wife of Wermont Vidame of Châlons.

ISSUE OF SIMON, LORD OF JOINVILLE, AND BEATRICE OF BURGUNDY.

John, lord of Joinville, continued the race†.

Geoffry de Joinville had for his fortune the estate of Vaucouleur, which his mother had enjoyed as her dower; on which account, in a deed of the year 1239, she takes the title of Lady of Vaucouleur.

John lord of Joinville mentions this brother in his history, and calls him his brother of Vaucouleur. There is a deed‡ of his in the treasury of the king's charters, dated 1250, in which he pledges himself for Catharine duchess of Lorraine and her son Ferry, to Thibaud king of Navarre and count of Champagne, for the sum of three thousand livres. He consented also, in this same year, that his brother, Simon de Joinville, should possess the lands of Marnay. The register of the extraordinary sessions in Champagne§ informs us, that he had a dispute with the king of Navarre respecting a woman of fervile condition. He married Maud de Lacy, daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Lacy, an english nobleman|| of the family of the earls of Lincoln, by Elizabeth Bigod. She brought him in marriage

* Brower. l. 15. Annal. Trevir. p. 88.

† Lib. princ

‡ Tref. des Char du Roy

§ Reg. des Grands Jours de Champ 1238. f. 115. qui est en la Cham. de Comptes.

|| Monast. Anglicanum, To. 1. pp. 725. 863.

the lordships of Corvedale and Ludlow, and of Meath and Trim in Ireland, with others. There are deeds by him, which render it probable that he made his residence in England*, and likewise mention some donations which he made with his wife to the abbey of Dore†, in the county of Hereford. They are signed, among others, by John de Vaucouleur. We have reason to believe that he died before the year 1297‡, since his son Walter signed himself lord of Vaucouleur in that year.

It is not certain that he was the son of Geoffry by Maud de Lacy, for the english authors§, who mention the children proceeding from this marriage, do not name him, but only Geoffry de Joinville, knight, and Peter, his brother. Geoffry|| had several high and important employments at the court of Edward I. king of England, who in the year 1290 sent him on an embassy to pope Nicholas IV.; and in 1299 deputed him to go to France, and swear in his name to the observance of the peace that had been concluded between the two crowns at Montreuil sur Mer. He immediately afterwards employed him to treat for a marriage between him and Margaret of France, sister to king Philip le bel, and for that of his son, with Isabella, daughter to king Philip¶. He died without leaving any posterity, and was succeeded by his brother, Peter de Joinville, who married Jane, daughter to Hugh XII. count de la Marche and d'Angoulême, and Jane de Fougueres, with whom he is named in the testament of Hugh XIII. count de la Marche and brother to Jane.

Three daughters were the issue of this marriage, Jane, Maud and Beatrice de Joinville; the two last were nuns in the monastery of Acornbury in England**, and the eldest married Roger Mortimer, first earl of March.

* David Povelus in not. ad Silvest. Girald. l. 2. c. 13.

† Monast. Ang. To. 1. p. 863.

‡ Odor. Rayn. hoc an. n. 12.

§ Tref. Angl. iv. tit. 18. 32.

|| Reg. de la Connest. de Bourdeaux en la Chambre des Comptes, p. 180.

¶ Monast. Angl. To. 1. p. 725. To. 2. p. 69.

** Th. Walsingham. A. 1322. p. 116.

who by this connection succeeded to all the possessions which the family of Joinville had held in England. I believe that Joffelin de Joinville, who, for having joined the party of Thomas earl of Lancaster, was disgracefully put to death in the year 1322, was of this family, and perhaps the youngest son to Geoffry lord of Vaucouleur, and Maud de Lacy. Walsingham calls him Goffelinus de Invilla, instead of Juinvilla.

With regard to Walter, lord of Vaucouleur, eldest son to Geoffry, he is called nephew to John lord of Joinville, in a deed of the year 1300, the original of which is preserved in the castle of Polizy. He had, as I have observed, succeeded his father in these lordships before the year 1297, he must therefore be the lord of Vaucouleur, named with the other nobles of Champagne in the summons of king Philip le bel, of the 5th day of August 1303 *, commanding them to meet him at Arras. He went thither to serve the king in the war against the Flemings; and in the following year was slain in battle in Flanders, as William Guiart notices in these verses :

‘ A cele heure se des renja,
Dont ce fu pitié et doulour,
Le drois fires de Vaucouleur,
Qui n’ iert vilain ne bobancier,
Qui s’ alla emmi eus lancier
Sus la chaucie, et il l’occifrent.’

This lord of Vaucouleur left, at least, two sons, John lord of Vaucouleur, and another who was father to John de Joinville, styled cousin-german to Amé de Joinville lord of Mery, in a deed of the year 1364 †, and who served in the king’s armies in Brittany and Poitou with three esquires, under the command of the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, in the years 1374 and 1375.

* Reg. des Gr. Jours.

† Tref. des Chart. du Roy, Laiette Eaux et Forêts, tit. 40.

John de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, signed a treaty with king Philip de Valois, at Paris, on the 4th of October 1372*, in which the king expresses his desire to have the castle and lands of Vaucouleur for the defence and better security of his realm†; and John de Joinville accedes to this demand, by yielding up those lands in exchange for others which were given to him, namely, the town and castlewick of Mery sur Seine, with all justiciary and other rights; the Jurée‡ of Villers in the provostwick of Vertus; the land tax of Lachy, with other effects, according to the valuation of commissioners§.

The king had acquired two years before the reversion of the lordship of Vaucouleur from Anceau de Joinville, in whom it rested, according to a partition made between the co-heirs; and the king in return had given him the fiefs of Possesse, of Charmont and its dependencies, which sir John de Gallande held from the king. The deeds of this exchange are dated the 25th January 1335, and in them he is stiled lord of Joinville and of Renel.

The historian of the bishops of Mets notices him, and says, that he sent his son Amé de Joinville to pay homage to Adhemar, bishop of Mets, in the month of September 1344||. He appears with the title of lord of Mery and of Lachy, in an account of landed property in Champagne in the year 1348¶. Amé de Joinville, his son, succeeded him in his title and estates before the year 1364. He was also lord of Souderon, four leagues distant from Châlons, and of Straelly; for the last he did homage to the bishop of Troyes in 1371. I have seen a deed dated the 2d July 1377, of

* Compte de Jacques Renart Trésorier des Guerres.

† Feoda Camp. f. 85.

‡ Droit de Jurée was a yearly duty paid in old time to the counts of Champagne by all their subjects, namely, sixpence in the pound upon all their moveables, and twopence upon their immoveables, yet might any one be quit for four shillings sterling a-year. At this day the king and other lords of jurisdiction receive in some places the like from their burgeses and free men.

Cotgrave in voc. Jurée.

§ Meurisse en l'hist. de Mets, p. 514.

|| Hist. des Evêques de Mets, p. 514.

¶ Hist. de C. P. 1. 8. p. 11.

an agreement between the count de Vertus and this Amé, as well on his own account, as on that of John de Sarrebruche, knight, whom he supports, in which he declares he pays faith and homage to the count de Vertus for Souderon, Bergieres, la Viezville, le Mefnil, Courtemblon, Souilleres, near Oisy, Estrichy, adjoining to Villeneuve, Grouges, Raingneville, Luchy, Rouffy, and for the vassals, subjects and appurtenances that formerly belonged to the domain, and were under the jurisdiction of Vertus, and given in exchange for Vaucouleur. This deed likewise declared that these places, as well as the town of Villeceneur, were dependencies as *arriere fiefs* of the bailiwick of the count de Vertus, whether with or without assize, and without appeal to the provostship.

This John de Sarrebruche, lord of Commercy, was at that time married to Isabella de Joinville, sole daughter and heiress to Amé, who after the decease of her husband, united herself in marriage with Charles lord of Chastillon, grand master of waters and forests in France*. A provincial herald, at the end of Du Moulin's history of Normandy, gives, for arms to the lords of Vaucouleur, the arms of Joinville, the chief ermines and the lion couronné or.

Simon de Joinville, lord of Gex, had for his fortune the estate of Marnay, which his mother Beatrice † gave up to him with the consent of the lord de Joinville and the lord de Vaucouleur his brothers. He did homage for it ‡ to John count de Bourgogne, lord of Salins, his uncle, in the month of December 1255. In consequence of his marriage with Beatrice, surnamed Lionette, daughter and heiress to Amé de Geneve, who styled himself also lord of Gex, and Beatrice de Baugé his first wife, he became lord of Gex. Both of them did homage to the bishop of Geneva for the market-place of Gex, which they acknowledged to hold from him, as a fief, by deeds dated the 22d of April, 1261 §.

* Hist. de Chast. p. 575.

† P. Chiflet en sa Beatrix, p. 114.

‡ Bibl. Sebus. Cent. 1. cap. 33. 38.—Cent. 2. cap 25.

§ Preuves de l'hist. de Savoye, p. 74.

Simon was present, in the year 1273, at the treaty of marriage between Gaston, viscount of Béarn, and Beatrice of Savoy*, daughter to Peter count de Savoye. His wife was living until the year 1299, at which time a deed seems to mention her as a widow; which circumstance makes me doubtful of his second marriage, as it is said, with Leonora de Foucigny, from whom there was no issue.

Besides, others† give this Leonora to Hugh de Joinville, lord of Gex, son to Simon, who had two children, Hugh, and Peter lord of Marnay, of whom we shall say more hereafter. True it is, that Hugh was father to Peter de Joinville, lord of Gex, deceased without posterity,—to William his brother, who succeeded him in this lordship,—to Agnes, wife of Francis lord of Sassenage,—to Beatrice, married to Odon Alaman, lord of Champs in Dauphiny, whom some authors mention as children to Simon.

William de Joinville, lord of Gex, paid a similar homage to that of his father or grandfather on the Monday before the feast of St Michael, 1314. In the year 1324, he took part with Hugh Daufin, baron of Foucigny, and Amé III. count of Geneva, in the war in which these two lords were engaged against Edward count de Savoye‡, and was at the battle of Mont du Mortier, where they were defeated. He married Jane of Savoy, daughter to Louis de Savoye, baron de Vaud, and Jane de Montfort, by whom he had Hugard lord of Gex, deceased without children in the year 1338; Hugh lord of Gex succeeded after his brother's death; Margaret de Joinville married, in 1325, to William lord of Montbel and of Entremont le Neuf; Eleonora de Joinville, wife to Hugh de Geneve, baron d'Anthon; and N. de Joinville, lady of Aubonne, wife to Humbert Alaman, lord of Aubonne and of Copet.

Hugh de Joinville, lord of Gex, was made a knight by Aymon count de Savoye§, who likewise gave him one hundred livres yearly in addition to his fief, by deed of the 28th of January 1343. M. de Guichenon gives

* Hist. gener. de Savoye, p. 287, 288.

† Paradin en l'hist. de Savoye, l. 2. p. 102.

‡ Hist. gener. de Savoye.

§ Idem, p. 393.

him the name of Hugard, the same as that of his elder brother. He did homage liège to king Philip de Valois, in the year 1339, for three hundred livres yearly on the treasury*, from which homage he excepted the dauphin of Vienne, the count de Savoye, the lord of Arlay, the bishop of Geneva, and the abbot of Saint Oyen d'Ioux. He was that year and the two following† in the armies which the king of France led against the earl of Flanders, accompanied by two knights-bachelor, and forty-eight esquires, all his vassals‡. William Paradin§ says, in his history of Savoy, that having received some affront from the dauphin of Vienne, he renounced his allegiance, and made himself vassal and liege man to Aymon count de Savoye, for his lordship of Gex; but that when on his death-bed he repented of this, and made a donation of the lordship of Gex to his brother-in-law, Hugh de Geneve, whom he appointed his heir, on condition of doing homage to the dauphin of Vienne. Hugh having complied with this requisition, the count Amé de Savoye, surnamed the Green, successor to Aymon, took the opportunity of entering the country of Gex with a large army||, and made himself master of it in the year 1353, in default of homage on the part of Hugh.

M. de Guichenon gives another reason for this invasion. Whatever may have been the true one, this country remained in the possession of the counts of Savoy, until, by a treaty concluded at Lyons in 1601¶, it, together with the lordship of Bresse, was exchanged with France for the marquisate of Saluces.

Peter de Joinville, lord of Marnay, youngest son to Simon lord of Gex, was guardian to his nephew William lord of Gex, and bore for some time the title of lord of Gex. He was father to Beraud de Joinville, lord of

* Tresor. des Chart. du Roi.—Layette hommages, iii. tit. 27.

† Du Tillet.

‡ Compte de Barth. du Drach, Tres. de Guerres, f. 167.

§ En l'hist. de Savoye, l. 2. c. 134. 148.

|| Hist. de Ducs de Bourgogne, aux preuves, p. 52.

¶ Hist. de Savoye, pp. 407. 427.

Marnay, and Divonna, who had issue by Aymée de Coligny his wife *, Amé de Joinville, lord of Divonna, who married the daughter of the viscount de Courtramblay, and had by her Amé de Joinville lord of Divonna, married to Catherine Bernier, and left three children, namely, Louis de Joinville, lord of Divonna, Amblard de Joinville, canon of Lyons, and N. de Joinville, mother to Mary de Gingin, who was married in the year 1412 to Aymon de Coucy, lord of Genissia.

William de Joinville, archdeacon of Salins, and dean of Befançon, was nominated by Agnes de Foucigny, countess of Savoy, by marriage with Peter count of Savoy, in conjunction with his brother Simon, lord of Gex, executors of her last will, dated in August 1268 †.

Simonetta and Mary, one of whom was married to Guignes dauphin of Vienne, before the year 1252, as appears from a letter of Simon lord of Gex, in which he says, that the dauphin of Vienne had espoused his sister. Father don Peter de Sainte Catherine imagines that one of these daughters married the lord de Tressègnies constable of France, whom the lord de Joinville in his history calls brother.

John lord of Joinville, and seneschal of Champagne, eldest son to Simon lord of Joinville, by Beatrice of Burgundy, his second wife, was betrothed during the life of his parents to Alicia, daughter of Henry count de Grand Pré, by Marie de Garlande. The articles of marriage were agreed to in the month of June 1231, in the presence of Thibaud count of Champagne, the principal conditions of which were, that the countess and her son Henry should give, in consideration of this alliance, three hundred livres, paris money yearly, in land, and that in return Alicia should renounce all claim to the succession of her father and mother.

It was likewise stipulated, that Simon, lord of Joinville, father to John, should so manage that Geoffry de Joinville, his son, should approve of and ratify the sentence of separation which the archbishop of Rheims had pronounced between him and the countess of Grand-pré; from which we

* Hist. de la Maison de Coligny.

† M. Guichenon en l'hist. de Savoye, p. 187.

may conjecture, that this marriage was concluded to appease the quarrel which this divorce had caused between the two families.

The articles were only signed by the countess of Grand-pré, in the absence of her son ; but the count of Champagne pledged himself for his duly executing them. This was not, however, so soon accomplished, nor was the marriage completed until after the year 1239 ; at which period, John lord of Joinville having succeeded his father in his estates, and in the seneschalship of Champagne, was unmarried ; for in this year he promised count Thibaud, king of Navarre, not to ally himself with the count de Bar, nor take his daughter to wife. Beatrice, mother to John, made the count a similar promise for her son.

His marriage with Alicia must have taken place instantly afterward ; for in a deed of the year 1240, the lady of Joinville is styled sister to Henry count de Grand-pré. It had probably been deferred until then, on account of the youth of the lord de Joinville, who thus speaks of himself ; ‘ that when the treaty between the king, Saint Louis, and the count de la Marche, was concluded, he had not then put on his helmet ;’ that is to say, he had not then borne arms, nor received the order of knighthood ; and that when he put on the cross to march to the holy land with his king, he was then very young.

That was the first occasion he made use of to display his valour, and shew to all the world that he was no way degenerated in courage and virtue from his ancestors. The croisade had been proclaimed throughout France, and St Louis, his queen and children, with the brothers to the king, and the principal barons of the realm, had already put on their armour, and covered their shoulders with the mark of our redemption, to recover the holy land from the hands of the infidels, and to carry the war into their country.

John lord of Joinville following the examples of his ancestors, who had signalized themselves in these illustrious conquests, took the cross, and determined to accompany the king. But as this enterprise was attended with danger, and would probably be of long duration, he wished, before he set out to make a settlement of his affairs, and leave every one satisfied with his conduct, so that he might be in the proper disposition to deserve the

fruits and pardons which these croifaders merited, through the conceffions of the fovereign pontiff. Having affembled his friends and neighbours, he gave them to underftand, that if any one had the fmalleft fubject of complaint againft him, or if he had wronged him in the flighteft manner, he was ready to make him all the fatisfaction that could be wifhed for.

On the other hand, as his mother, Beatrice, was ftill living, and enjoyed the greater part of his fortune as her dower, he found himfelf obliged to mortgage the principal part of the remainder of his lands, to fupply the expenfes of his equipment for fo long a voyage and of fo confiderable an enterprife, fo that there fcarcely remained to him twelve hundred livres of yearly rent in land.

He fet out from his caftle of Joinville after the Eafter of 1248, accompanied by ten knights, whom he kept in his pay; among whom were three bannerets, namely, Hugh de Landricourt, Hugh de Til-châtel, lord of Conflans, and Peter de Pontmolain. He journeyed in company with John lord of Afpremont, Gofbert d'Afpremont and his brothers, who were his coufins, and the count de Sarrebruche, all of whom had in like manner put on the crofs. They embarked at Marfeilles and failed to Cyprus, where they found the king of France who had arrived there a fhort time before them. It was there the lord de Joinville firft entered into the fervice and pay of this great king, whofe good graces and affection he fo much gained that this prince would have him always near his perfon, employing him in the moft important negotiations, and confidering him as one of his confidential and faithful counfellors. From the day he entered into the fervice of the king, in the ifland of Cyprus, he fcarcely ever quitted him until his death, and was always attendant on him for the fpace of twenty-two years.

This would be the place to relate his adventures, his combats, and his travels; how he landed in Egypt, and was attacked by the Saracens, how he repulfed them; how he was wounded, and then caught the epidemical diforder of the army; how he was made prifoner by the enemy, faved and delivered from their hands; how he accompanied the king to Acre, who again retained him and his knights in his pay: in fhort, after having been abfent on thefe expeditions, the fpace of feven years, he

returned to France with the king. But as this narration would be of considerable length, and as he himself has written the history, I pass it over, and shall only mention some others of his principal actions. On his return to France, he took leave of the king at Beaucaire, whence, having visited the dauphiness of Vienne his relation, the count de Châlons his uncle, and the count de Bourgogne his cousin-german, he arrived at his castle of Joinville. After residing there some time, he went to Soissons to meet the king, who received him with so much kindness and friendship that the whole court was surprised, and became jealous of him. It was about this time that Thibaud II. king of Navarre and count of Champagne, employed him to request of the king his daughter Isabella; and this negotiation he managed with so much address and prudence that, in spite of great difficulties, the marriage was concluded, and celebrated at Melun with royal magnificence, in the year 1255.

This service, in addition to others, gained him the affections of the king of Navarre, who presented him with many gifts, among which was the donation to him and his heirs, dated January 1258, of all the rights and royalties of the village of Germay, as an augmentation of fief, on condition of paying homage liege. In the following year * he subscribed the testament of Ebles de Geneva, son to Humbert count of Geneva, in which however, he adds no title to his name, which may cause a doubt whether this John de Joinville, or de Genville, as he is called, be our seneschal.

He was, afterward, almost constantly at the court of the king of Navarre, his lord, and accompanied him in the year 1267 †, when this prince did homage to the bishop of Langres for the towns of Bar sur Aube, Bar sur Seine, and some others, which he held under the church, in presence of William lord de Grancey, Renier Vitardore, and Eustache de Conflans, marshals of Champagne, and other lords of that country.

The king, Saint Louis, having convoked at Paris all his barons, on the subject of a new croisade, summoned thither the lord de Joinville, at that time suffering under a quartan ague. On his arrival, the king, and

* Preuves de l'hist. de Savoye, p. 74.

† Preuves de l'hist. de Bar, p. 36.

Thibaud, king of Navarre, pressed him to put on the cross, and undertake, with them, an expedition to Africa ; but he excused himself on the plea, of the poverty and distress of his subjects and vassals, who had been harshly treated by the exactions made on them by the king of France's officers during his former expedition. He acted some time afterward as president in the extraordinary assemblies and assizes held at Troyes *, as the person best qualified, in the year 1271. During the journey which was made to Arragon in 1283, by king Philip the hardy, who had the wardship of Jane queen of Navarre, and countess of Champagne, sole daughter to king Henry † : he was appointed by him governor and guardian of that country. He was present likewise at the assizes of Champagne in the years 1291 and 1296 ‡. I know nothing of his other actions, nor have I read any deeds wherein he is mentioned, until the year 1303 §, when he is named with John de Joinville lord of Ancerville, Anseau de Joinville, and other great barons of France and Champagne, in the summons of Philip the fair to meet him at Arras the 5th of August, and attend him in his war against Flanders.

He was also one of the lords and barons of Champagne, who formed a league, in the month of November 1314, against this same king, on account of a subsidy which he had undertaken to raise from the nobles of his realm ||. This dispute was settled the ensuing year by the king, Louis Hutin, who, by his letters, dated from the Bois de Vincennes, the 17th day of May 1315, appointed commissioners to inquire into their privileges. The king immediately after issued a summons for the nobles of his realm to assemble at Arras in the month of August, to assist him in his war against the Flemings ¶ ; but the lord de Joinville was ordered, by a private letter from the king, to be at Authie by the middle of June. This was, however, too

* Vieux Cout. de Champ. art. 23.

† Ibid. art. 13.

‡ Affis. de Champ.

§ 35. and 36. Reg. du Tresor.

|| Preuves de l'hist. de Vergy, p. 231.

¶ Chron. de Flandres.

short notice for him to make his preparations, and he wrote to the king his excuses, alleging the impossibility of being at the appointed place by the time fixed, and promising, at the same time, to join the army as speedily as he could *. In effect, I have noticed, in the list of those men at arms who were in the company of my lord the count of Potiers †, and received at Arras and elsewhere, by his two marshals, M. Regnaut de Lor, and the Borgne de Ceris, that he was among the number, with one knight and six esquires.

The original of the letter which he wrote to the king on the subject of this summons having been communicated to me by M. Vyon d'Herouval, auditor of accounts, and well known among the learned, I have thought I should oblige my reader by the insertion of a copy of it, as well because it contains some remarkable singularities, as it clearly shews how much the history we have of the lord de Joinville has been altered in its idiom. This may also be inferred from what La Croix du Maine says in his library of french writers, who declares that he has in his possession this history written in the old language.

The direction of the letter is in the following words :

‘ To his well-beloved lord, the king of France and Navarre.’ The letter runs thus :

‘ To his good lord, Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, John lord of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, sends health and his willing service. Dear sire, it is indeed true, as you inform me, that it has been reported you had made up matters with the Flemings; and, as we believed it, sire, we have not made any preparations to obey your summons, which you sent me, sire, acquainting me that you should be at Arras to redress the wrongs the Flemings have done you; and in this I think you act well, and may God give you his assistance ! And as you have ordered me and my people to be at Authie by the middle of June, sire, I inform you, that that cannot well be done; for your letters only arrived the second Sunday in June, eight days before we ought to have been at the rendezvous.

* Reg. appartenant à M. de Vyon d'Herouval.

† Roulcau de la Chamb. des Comptes à Paris.

My people shall be got ready as soon as possible, to go whithersoever you please. Sire, do not be displeased, that at the beginning of this letter I have only called you my good lord; for I have never done otherwise to my lords your ancestors and predecessors in the government, whose souls may God pardon! Written the second Sunday of June, the same day that your letter was brought me in the year 1315.'

This letter was folded, and sealed with a seal of yellow wax, of the size of a large golden crown, having an impression of a knight armed with his sword and shield, and the coat of arms and housing of his horse blazoned with the arms of Joinville: around it, instead of an inscription, was a border of flowers de luce, similar to that which is on the coins of St Louis. The lord de Joinville must have been ninety or ninety-two years old in this year of 1315; for since his marriage was arranged in 1231, and consummated in 1240, he could not then have been younger than twenty years. A late author assures us, that he lived upwards of one hundred years*; and in a title-deed† of the abbey of St Urbain, near Joinville, dated on the morrow of Easter in the year 13 . . ., by which he grants to Robert, the abbot, and to the monks of that monastery, certain fields and woods, he says, that he had been engaged so long in the country of the infidels, where he had remained seven years with the king, Saint Louis, and in other parts; for which God, out of his mercy, had preserved his body and mind in greater health and vigour to a longer period of time than had been allotted to any of his predecessors.

Although I have never seen any deed that marks precisely the time of his death, it must have been about the year 1318; for in that year his son Anceau was in possession of the estate of Joinville, and of the office of seneschal of Champagne, as we shall see hereafter. I have heard a tradition at Joinville, that this lord was of an extraordinary stature and strength of body, and that his head was of an enormous size, as large again as that of any of his contemporaries, and that it may now be seen at Joinville with one of his thigh bones. This agrees with what he writes himself of his

* Edmond de Boullay, au traité de l'enterrement du duc de Guise, p. 172.

† Tref. des Chart. du Roi, Layette Obligations, 2. tit. 35.

constitution and habit of body, saying that he had ‘*la tête grosse, et une froide fourcelle,*’ meaning a cold stomach; for which cause, his physicians had ordered him to drink his wine pure, and to warm it. With regard to the qualities of his mind, it will be sufficient to say, that the great king, Saint Louis, appointed him one of his principal counsellors and ministers of state; besides, he says of himself that he had a subtle wit.

It is difficult to determine the precise time when he composed his history; for if we consider the terms and expressions of the preliminary epistle, which is addressed to Louis Hutin, king of France and Navarre, and count of Champagne, it must have been after the death of Philip the fair, and about the year 1315, since Louis only took the title of king of France after the death of his father in 1314, having been crowned king of Navarre in 1307. On the other hand, what he says in this epistle, that having undertaken to make a collection of facts, and of the most memorable sayings of the king, St Louis, at the entreaty, and by the command of the defunct queen, wife to that king, he could not dedicate it to any other than to his eldest son, who had succeeded him to the crown, may make us suspect the fidelity of the dedication, and so much the more, because Louis Hutin did not immediately succeed to St Louis, nor was his mother wife to that king. We may therefore suppose that the first publisher of this history changed the words of the dedication, and inserted Louis in the place of Philip.

But if the lord of Joinville means this last, in the words I have copied, other difficulties assail us; for, besides that Philip the bold was not king of Navarre, he declares, that he undertook this history at the prayer of the defunct queen, mother of the king to whom he dedicates it. Now the queen, Margaret of Provence, widow of St Louis, died after her son Philip the bold; and the king, to whom the dedication is addressed, must have survived his mother. If he mean Philip the fair, it is clear he was not the son, nor his mother the wife of St Louis. I shall not, however, have much difficulty to persuade myself there was no error in the dedication, and that instead of Louis, we must restore Philip; first, because he formerly mentions, in several passages of his history, that he had composed it under his reign; for, in one part, when speaking of St Louis, he uses these words: ‘The good king called to him my lords, Philip, father to the king now on the throne, and also king Thibaud his son;’ that is to say, Philip the bold, son

to St Louis, and father to Philip the fair. Elsewhere he says, 'and this puts me in mind of what I had once said to the good lord, father to our present king, when conversing on the pomp and expense of dress, and of the embroidered coats of arms which are now in fashion with the army, that during the whole time I was beyond sea in the army with his father, I never once saw an embroidered coat or saddle, either belonging to the king, or to any one else.'

This I explain, in like manner, to mean Philip the fair, without hesitating to believe that he uses the term father for grandfather. Besides, it is certain, that the lord of Joinville not only finished his history after the canonisation of St Louis, which took place in 1298, but after the year 1305, since he notices the death of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, which happened at Compiègne in that year. The remaining difficulty would be in respect to what he says of the queen, at whose entreaty he wrote the life and actions of St Louis, which can only be solved by supposing, that he has used the term of mother for that of grandmother. All these contradictions might have been cleared up, if we could have seen the manuscripts from which Antoine Pierre de Rieux and Claude Menart had formed their editions of the history of the lord de Joinville. That of Poitiers, having had the language of the author altered, according to the avowal of the editor in his preface, I suppose was similar to the one in the possession of La Croix du Maine. But I shall leave all these circumstances to the discussion of more intelligent persons, to finish what I have yet to examine in the life of this nobleman, and speak of his two wives. The first, as I have noticed, Alix de Grand-pré, by whom he had two children, when, in the year 1248, he accompanied the king, Saint Louis, to the holy land, as he mentions himself, one of whom was John de Joinville lord of Ancerville. His second wife was Alix de Risnel, daughter and heiress to Walter lord of Risnel, with whom he was living in 1262 when the father of the lady died: she herself followed him in the year 1288.

ISSUE OF JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ALIX DE GRAND-PRÉ, HIS FIRST WIFE.

N. de Joinville. The lord de Joinville mentions this his son, but without naming him, when he says, that at the time he went on the

expedition to the holy land, he had two children, the youngest of whom was lord of Ancerville, it being, however, uncertain, if it were not a girl, or the lord of Brequenay.

John de Joinville, born on the eve of Easter-day 1248. His father gave him for his portion the estate and lordship of Ancerville, one league from St Difier, which he had received as a gift from John, first of the name, lord of St Difier and Vignorry*. He is named in the summons which king Philip the fair issued from Lorris in the month of April 1303, for the nobles of Champagne to meet him three weeks after Easter at Lagny, on account of the war, with John lord of Joinville, his father, and Rive Anseau de Joinville. I have learnt nothing of his alliances or posterity; for it is improbable that he was the founder of the branch of Joinville that established itself in the kingdom of Naples, which we will notice at the end of this genealogy, since either he himself, or son, must have succeeded to the estate of Joinville, to the exclusion of Ancel, youngest son to John lord of Joinville, which makes me believe that he died without children. I only find that Isabella de Lorraine, daughter to Frederick III. duke of Lorraine, styles herself lady of Ancerville, and aunt to the duke of Lorraine, in a deed of the year 1348 †, at which time she was in the possession of the lands and lordships of Larzicourt, Nogent l'Artaut, and of Seant en Othe, which had belonged to the earl of Lancaster, and had been re-united to the king's domain, who for certain causes had given them to this lady during her life. She died the 20th May 1355.

Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Brequenay, is styled son to the lord of Joinville, in a deed of the year 1273; wherein his wife is called Mabile, lady of Nanteuil ‡, and sister to William de Lisignes, of the family of Villehardouin. She was widow of Erart I. lord of Nanteuil. Each of them did homage for the estate of Fløri to Imbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, in the year 1280 ||. It is not, however, certain if it be this Geoffry

* Hist. de Chastillon, p. 552.

† Compte de terre de Champagne de l'an 1348, en la Chambre des Comptes.

‡ Tabular. autissiodor.

|| Hist. de Chastillon.

de Joinville, knight-banneret, who is named among the knights of Champagne that accompanied king Philip the bold to the siege of Pamiers in the year 1271 *, when he made war on the count de Foix ; or whether he be Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, who lived at that period. Whoever he be, he died without issue posterior to the year 1294 †.

Andrew de Joinville, lord of Bonnay, who is mentioned in an arrêt of the year 1235, died unmarried.

N. de Joinville, wife of John lord of Charny.

ISSUE OF JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ALIX DE RISNEL HIS SECOND WIFE.

John de Joinville, lord of Risnel, made an agreement with his father, in the year 1288 ‡, respecting the lands of Risnel, which had fallen to him by the death of his mother, and respecting the rents which his father gave up to him. He died without posterity posterior to the year 1300, and before his father.

Ancel, lord of Joinville, continued the posterity.

Alix de Joinville (who, some say, was the issue of the first marriage of John) was given in marriage by her father, the lord of Joinville, to John lord of Arcées (or d'Arcie sur Aube) and of Chacenay, knight, by a treaty concluded at Joinville § the day of the feast of the invention of the cross, in the year 1300. By this treaty, John lord of Joinville, with the consent of John de Joinville, lord of Ancerville, and of Ancel de Joinville, lord of Remancourt, or of Ternancourt, his children, gives to his daughter, in consideration of this marriage, three hundred livres of annual rent, charged on the lands of Traves and of Gerseins, according to the assessments that should be made by Walter de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, and Guy de

* Hist de Bethune, p. 187.

† To. 5. hist. Franc. p. 550.

‡ Reg. des Gr. Jours de Champ. de l'an 1288. f. 114. en la Chambre des Comptes.

§ Original, preserved in the castle of Polisy.

Joinville, lord of Saily, together with the sum of three thousand livres, tournois.

This lord died before the year 1307, at which time Alix de Joinville styled herself widow, and in that capacity did homage to the bishop of Langres for the lands of Chacenay, in the year 1316 *. In the enrolment of this act, she calls herself Lady of Beaufort, because she was then remarried to Henry of England, surnamed of Lancaster, lord of Beaufort and Nogent, son to Edmund of England, duke of Lancaster, and Blanche d'Artois, which marriage is noticed in an arrêt of the year 1327. John d'Arcées was brother to Erard d'Arcées, knight, who did homage for these same lands of Chacenay to the bishop, in the year 1283.

Ancel, or Anceau, lord of Joinville, was son to John lord of Joinville, by Alix de Risnel, his second wife, and had first for his portion the lands of Remancourt, or Ternancourt: he then succeeded his elder brother, John de Joinville, by this marriage, in the lordship of Risnel, which he was in possession of in the year 1304.

Louis Hutin, king of Navarre and afterward of France, employed him in the country of Champagne, near to Bassigny, in conjunction with Simon de Meno and John des Barres, knights, and made him one of the executors of his last will. After the death of his father, he succeeded to the lordship of Joinville and to the office of seneschal of Champagne, his elder brothers by the first and second marriage being declared without posterity.

He took both these titles from the year 1317 †, when king Philip the fair chose him, with other lords, to be arbitrators in a difference he had with the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1318. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris includes him among the men at arms whom the king sent to the frontiers of Flanders, under the command of the count d'Evreux, and he was accompanied by eight knights and thirty-one esquires. In another roll without a date, he is named among the knights-bannerets who were of the *Mesnage*; that is to say, of the household, and among the attendants of Charles count de Poitiers, afterward king of France, of whom the same

* Reg. des fiefs de Langres, f. 70.

† M. Guichenon hist. de Savoye, p. 736.

count d'Evreux was the principal, and he had in his company four knights bachelor.

King Philip le long appointed him, with several other lords, one of the executors of his will, dated the 26th day of August 1321. In the year 1323, when the marriage of Henry IV. count of Bar*, with the eldest daughter of John king of Bohemia, was agreed to, he was one of the fureties for the count of Bar † duly performing the articles of the contract, with Philip count of Mans, and Matthew de Trie, marshal of France; as he was likewise at the sentence passed by king Charles the fair, in the dispute between this king and the count by a deed of the 28th of May.

In the year 1325, he was one of the fureties of Robert de Bourgogne ‡, count of Tonnerre, when he was made prisoner by Guignes VI. dauphin of the Viennois §. This same year he surrendered, by a deed signed at Paris in November to king Charles, four hundred livres of annual rent paid by the towns of Chantemerle and Borbonne, which king Louis Hutin had given him for his life ||.

I cannot find any thing relative to him from this period until the year 1335, when king Philip de Valois commissioned him, with the count d'Eu, constable, and the lord de Briquebec, marshal of France ¶, to receive the men at arms that were to accompany him in his expedition to the holy land. This proves he was in great credit, and of the highest rank at court, which is also confirmed the ensuing year by the king having named him to assist at the treaty of alliance which was concluded at Paris between him and Ferdinand, king of Castille, by Ferdinand Sanchez, a castillian knight, ambassador on the part of king Ferdinand, and Robert Bertrand, marshal of France, on the part of king Philip, the 27th day of December.

* Tréfor. Bar. tit. 6.

† Hist. de la Maison de Bar.

‡ Hist. des ducs de Bourg. p. 108.

§ Hist. gen. de Savoye, pp. 376. 378.

|| Tréfor. de France, Laiette. Champ. 2. tit. 17.

¶ M. Guichenon en la Gen. de la Baum.

There were present at the signing of this treaty, John de Vienne, archbishop of Vienne, Guy Baudet, bishop of Langres, the duke of Normandy, Raoul constable, Miles de Noyers Bouteiller, Matthew de Trie, marshal of France, John de Chastillon, Geoffry de Beaumont chamberlain to the king, William Flotte lord of Revel, and Hugh Quieret admiral of France, knights and counsellors to the king of France. On the part of the king of Castille, there were Alfonso Martin, and Hugh de Alcove, two of the king's knights.

He was afterwards in the army which Philip de Valois marched into Gascony against the English in 1337*, having, in his company, and under his banner, a knight-banneret, fourteen knights-bachelor, and sixty-seven esquires. All these great services gained him not only the favour of the king, but also that of the duke of Normandy, the king's eldest son, who made him several presents†, and, among others, gave him all the profits and emoluments that might fall to him from the wardship of the son of the late Albert de Hangeft, lord of Genlis, his son-in-law, according to the custom in such cases.

The deeds relative to the above transaction are dated in the year 1338, in which year the count de Bar sent him to the king of France to place in his hands all his concerns on the subject of the war, which subsisted between him and the duke of Lorraine‡. Some memoirs say that he died in the year 1340; but there is a deed in the Tresor des Chartes du Roi of the year 1351, by which Ancel lord of Joinville, and of Risnel, and Margaret de Vaudemont, his wife, sell to king Philip de Valois several rents, which they had the right of calling for from the receipt of Champagne§. This lady was his second wife, and sister and heiress to Henry IV. of the name, count de Vaudemont. He was first married in the year 1309, to Lore de Sarbruche, daughter to John count de Sarbruche, lord of Commercy, by whom he had no children.

* Compte de Jean le Mire Tresorier des Guerres du Roi.

† Tresor. dons faits par les Rois, tit. 20.

‡ Le P. Viguer en la Gen. d'Alsace, p. 163.

§ Tresor. des Chartes, Laitte, Paris, tit. 60.

ISSUE OF ANCEL LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY MARGARET DE VAUDEMONT, HIS
SECOND WIFE.

Henry, lord of Joinville, and count de Vaudemont.

Margaret de Joinville had for her portion the lands of Rifnel or Renel. She was first married to the lord de Culant, and secondly to Hugh d'Ambroise, seventh of the name lord of Chaumont, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, but whose successors now possess these lands, with the title of marquissate.

Isabeau de Joinville was married to John de Vergy, lord of Mirebeau, with whom she was living in the year 1380.

N. de Joinville married into the family of Fenestranges.

Jane de Joinville, was first married to John de Noyers, lord of Vandœuvre, and count de Joigny, and secondly to Albert de Hangeft, lord of Genlis. There is in the Trésor de Chartes du Roi * a deed of sale made by John de Hangeft, knight, to king Philip de Valois, of an annuity of two hundred livres on the king's treasury, for the sum of nine hundred livres, on condition of paying to Jane de Joinville fifty livres tournois yearly, by deeds signed at Paris in the year 1338.

Henry lord of Joinville, count of Vaudemont, and seneschal of Champagne, had a serious dispute in the year 1351, with John de Vergy, lord of Fonvens and of Champlite, seneschal of Burgundy, and his cousin, to whom he sent a challenge to fight with him, which is inserted in the history of the house of Vergy †. He was at the wars in Brittany in the year 1352, in his quality of knight-banneret, accompanied by four knights bachelor, and thirty-five esquires. He afterwards attended king John in his war against the English, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Poitiers in 1356 ‡, when he was made prisoner.

* Layette Paris, tit. 68.

† L. 5. ch. 1.

‡ Chr. de Flandres, ch. 92. Henric. de Knighton, p. 2613.

There are some acts in the *Tresor des Chartes du Roi* *, in which he is styled lieutenant to the king and to the regent. There are other deeds of his own of the year 1361, in which he calls himself lord of Joinville and of Houdanc. He possessed this last lordship in right of the marriage he contracted about 1346 with Mary of Luxembourg, miscalled Jane by La Ruelle, daughter to John de Luxembourg, Châtellain de L'ille, by Alicia of Flanders : she was living in the year 1366.

DAUGHTERS OF HENRY, LORD OF JOINVILLE, COUNT DE VAUDEMONT.

Margaret de Joinville countess of Vaudemont.

Alix de Joinville married Thibaud, lord of Neuchâtel, marshal of Burgundy, to whom she brought, as her portion, the lands of Châtel, on the Moselle, of Bainville, of Chaligny, and of la Ferté on the Amance †.

Margaret, lady of Joinville, countess of Vaudemont, was thrice married, first to John de Bourgogne, a descendant of a younger branch of the counts of Burgundy, secondly to Peter count of Geneva, brother to Robert of Geneva, who styled himself pope Clement VII., in the presence of Miles de Noyers, count de Joigny, cousin-german to Margaret, and other lords, as appear from the marriage contract of the 2d May 1374. On the decease of Peter, she took for her third husband Ferry de Lorraine, lord of Guise, who was youngest son to John duke of Lorraine, and became by this marriage lord of Joinville, and count of Vaudemont. He was killed at the battle of Agincourt, and left among other children Antoine de Lorraine, count of Vaudemont, and lord of Joinville, who did homage ‡ to the king for Joinville, Rumigny, Aubenton and Martigny, at Bar sur Aube the sixth day of February in the year 1340. He was father of Ferry de Lorraine, count of Vaudemont, and lord of Joinville, and of Henry de Lorraine, bishop of Metz §, who, after the death of his brother, seized the castle and

* *Tresor*, Brochart de Fenestranges, tit. 5.

† *St Julien en ses Melanges historiques*.

‡ *Regist. des Hommages*, f. 82.

§ *Hist. des Evêques de Metz*, p. 595.

lordship of Joinville, which he enjoyed, and made his ordinary residence as long as he lived.

Ferry de Lorraine had issue René II. duke of Lorraine, who begot Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise, the father of Francis de Lorraine, also duke of Guise, in whose person king Henry II. raised the barony of Joinville to a principality, by his letters-patent, confirmed by the parliament of Paris the ninth day of May 1552, to be enjoyed by the prince of Joinville, with the quality and title of hereditary seneschal of Champagne, as his last predecessors had possessed it, and not otherwise.

The countess Margaret died in the year 1416, and was buried in the church of Joinville, where her epitaph is to be seen.

OTHER BRANCHES OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE.

I wish not to exhibit this genealogy of the house of Joinville as a perfect work, but merely as a slight sketch, that may induce those who are more versed in these studies than I am, to labour more seriously at it. I have contented myself with noticing the successive lords and principal alliances of this illustrious family, and with writing the life and eulogium of the author of the history, which has been the first object of my work. However, not to omit any thing that may have come to my knowledge in this matter, I will mention several of the name of Joinville who figure in history, and whose names appear in different title-deeds, although I cannot trace their filiation to unite them to the trunk of the tree. Others may do that more successfully by the assistance of old charters, and such other pieces, necessary to form a complete genealogy.

THE BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE, THAT SETTLED IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

John de Joinville is the first of this family who is known to have followed the court of the kings of Naples of the house of Anjou; but I have been unable to discover with certainty from whom he sprung. Ammirato says,

that king Charles, the first of the name, made him high constable of Sicily, and gave him the lands of Alifi and of Venafro; but I believe these magnificent gifts were made by Charles II. and the more readily, because in the year 1283 he bore not any rank to distinguish him, being simply stiled a noble man when he was sent this year by the prince of Salerno to hire galleys from the republic of Venice, as is mentioned in the letters of pope Martin IV. *.

I believe it is of this embassy that Ammirato speaks when he says, that he was sent as ambassador with Henry de Guini and Matthew d'Atri judge, to John Dandolo doge of Venice, who was elected to that dignity in the year 1280. Beside, Summonte says in express terms, that Charles II. made him high constable of Sicily in the year 1307 †. The same monarch married him to Belledame, daughter to Peter Ruffo, or the red count of Cantazaro ‡, and gave him in consideration of this marriage, and to recompense him for his great expenses in the wars, one thousand ounces of gold, on condition that, should he die without heirs-male, this sum was to revert to the king. He died before the year 1315, leaving one son.

Geoffry de Joinville succeeded his father in the lordships of Venafro and Alifi. He is much renowned in history || for having defended the bridge at Brindisi against Roger de l'Oria, admiral to Frederick king of Sicily; with whom, on this occasion, he had a personal combat on horseback, wounding him with a blow of his battle-axe, and having his own horse killed under him. The historians add, that he died a prisoner; without saying that it was in consequence of this fight. King Robert gave him four hundred ounces of gold of yearly revenue, for which purpose Carinola and Mondragone were assigned over to him.

Geoffry de Joinville II. was in France when his father Geoffry died. On his return to Naples, king Robert continued to him the same pension he had granted his father of four hundred ounces of gold; for the payment of which Alifi was assigned to him, under the assessment of one hundred and fifty ounces, Lettere and Gragnano taxed at one hundred, la Rocca

* Ep. Mart. 4. To. 2. p. 95.

† Summonte, l. 3.

‡ Ammirato nell. famig. Ruffa.

|| Fazell. Maurolyc. Surita.

de Santa Agatha and Qunculo at another hundred, Santo Angelo de Lombardi at fifty. I imagine it was this Geoffry de Joinville who, in the year 1326, accompanied Charles duke of Calabria to Florence. He was murdered by some disbanded foldiers on the last day of June 1335, and left by Jane des Baux, his wife, the son who follows.

Nicholas de Joinville was very young when his father was killed, and remained under the guardianship of his mother. King Robert raised in his favour the lands of St Angelo to a county; but he afterwards lost the good graces of this prince *, who confiscated the whole of his property, and gave part of it to the nuns of Saint Clare of Naples. Matthew Villani † mentions him in his history, when he says that the count de St Angelo, with the Sanseverinos, and Raymond des Baux, recovered one hundred thousand florins for the defeat which the army of the king of Hungary suffered at Meleto, where they were made prisoners. He followed, after this, the party of Peter IV. king of Arragon, who, in the year 1345, sent him on an embassy to the pope at Avignon relative to a dispute concerning the restitution of the kingdom of Majorca. Surita declares he was in much credit with this king. He afterward passed almost instantly to the court of Philip de Valois, who likewise employed him in many negotiations and journies; and by way of recompense, and to repay his expenses, he gave him three thousand livres tournois in timber, to be cut down in the park of Laichy in Champagne, as appears by deeds of the third day of June 1347 ‡. At this period, he took the title of count of Terra-nuova §, which had fallen to him prior to the year 1335, in consequence of his marriage with Margaret de l'Oria, daughter to Roger de l'Oria, grand admiral of Sicily, by Savrina, at that time widow of Bartholomew de Capua, grand prothonotary of the kingdom of Naples ||.

* Wadding. an. 1310. n. 24.

† Villani l. 1. ch. 48..

‡ Compte de la Terre de Champagne, année 1348.

§ M. Guich. en l'hist. de Savoye, p. 328..

|| Ep. Clement VI. to. 6. Ep. 1713..

Summonte, Campanile and Amirato say, that he had no children, and that Roger de Saint Severino, count de Mileto, succeeded the countess, who was his aunt, in the county of Terra-nuova about the year 1346. Thus, therefore, Amelio or Amé de Joinville, count de St. Angelo, Philip de Joinville, who were living in the year 1379, and Louis de Joinville, whom history mentions in 1382, if they were the sons of Nicholas, must have been his issue by another marriage, which is far from being improbable; for Ammirato declares that a count de St Angelo, of the house of Joinville, married, posterior to the year 1320, Ilaria de Sus, of a noble family; and this marriage can only be supposed to be that of Nicholas, who first bore the title of count of St Angelo.

It is certain that Philip married Agnes Pietramala, daughter to Catherine d'Ugot, lady of Campo Marino. Louis followed the faction of Charles III. king of Naples, in the war against the dukes of Durazzo, and married Orfolina, countess of Satriana, daughter of Angela of Capua. With regard to Amé, he was count of Saint Angelo, and marshal of the kingdom of Naples. He was living in the year 1403. We have not discovered any thing certain respecting his marriage or posterity, except that he had a daughter, Jane de Joinville, who was thrice married, first to Louis de Sabran, count d'Ariano, then to Simon de Sanguine count de Bugnara, and, lastly, to Nicholas Filangera *, lord of Lapigio. It is probable that, during the troubles at Naples, his fortune was confiscated, for in the year 1383 the lordships of Serra Capriola, and Torre Maggiore, which had belonged to this count, were given away by king Charles III.

Ammirato † likewise remarks that, a little before his death, he only styled himself lord of Lavello; and that, immediately afterwards, the county of St Angelo was sold by king Ladislaus to the family of Zurlo, whence it passed to that of Caraccioli, with whom, in his time, it remained. He had also a natural son, called John Nicholas de Joinville, who was with the other barons of the realm at the parliament held by Alphonso in the year 1441.

* Campanile della famigl. Filangera.

† Ammirato della famigl. di Sangro, p. 258.

Count Amé had a brother Eleazer de Joinville, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria di Gualdo di Mazzica, who was living in the year 1409.

THE NAMES OF OTHER LORDS WHO HAVE BORNE THE TITLE AND ARMS OF JOINVILLE, MENTIONED IN DIFFERENT TITLE-DEEDS.

Milon, or Miles de Joinville, knight, was present at the donation made by Haymon de Brie to the abbey of Molêmes, under Robert bishop of Langres, who was living in the year 1106. There is reason to presume he was son of Geoffry II. lord of Joinville, by Hodierne de Courtenay. At least the name of Miles, which was common in the family of Courtenay at the time he lived, makes us suppose it.

John de Joinville, knight, served the king in his army in Flanders in the year 1302.

Nicholas de Joinville, knight, and dame Philippa, his wife, daughter to John Fourré, knight, were living in the year 1321.

Andrew de Joinville, knight-banneret, lord of Beau-pré, in the bailiwick of Chaumont, served the king in his armies, accompanied by a knight-banneret, and fifteen esquires, in the years 1337 and 1338.

James and Anceau de Joinville are named in an old heraldic list, which gives to the first for arms those of Joinville, a lion muffed with a crest, on a field azure, having a lion or, billetée or; to the second, a shield with similar arms, which are those of Conflans, on the shoulder of the lion, which may incline us to suppose they were brothers by a mother of the family of Conflans. If this Anceau be the person whom Henry lord of Joinville calls his cousin-german in deeds of the year 1351, he must be the issue of a younger son of John lord of Joinville*.

Erard de Joinville, knight, lord of Doulevant, in Champagne, near to Bar sur Aube, was in the king's army, 1341, attended by four esquires†; and likewise at the assembly at Arras on St John's day, when the constable of France had the command. He is styled bailiff of Vitry in an account of

* Hist de la Maison de Vergy, p. 169.

† Compte du Drach.

the domains in Champagne of the year 1348. I believe he was father to John de Joinville, knight, lord of Doulevant and of Villiers au Chêne, who was living in 1390, according to the accounts of the bailiwick of Meaux. Mention is also made in these accounts of sir John de Joinville, lord of Doulevant, and of sir William de Saux, lord of Despanse, knight, who paid the king one hundred and sixty livres tournois for the redemption of the lands of Guerat, a moveable fief of the crown, as a dependance on the castle of Coulomiers, that had lately fallen unto sir William, in right of dame Jane Joinville his wife, and the damsel, Margaret de Joinville, sisters to the lately-deceased sir John de Joinville, knight, lord of the aforesaid lands.

Geoffry de Joinville, canon of the church of Nôtre Dame at Cambray, followed the king in his wars in Flanders, with three esquires, in the year 1341.

Anseau de Joinville, esquire, lord of Bizarre in right of his wife, daughter to sir Stephen de St Veraix, 1349.

John de Joinville, esquire, lord of Lachy lés Susanne in Champagne, was probably a branch of the lords of Vaucouleur, and was in the same army with Geoffry attended by three esquires. He had a sister, called Margaret de Joinville, who married Eudes, lord of Culans, did homage to the king for lands situated in the park of Lachy * that had fallen to his wife by the death of John de Joinville, her brother, in the year 1379.

Geoffry de Joinville, esquire, lord of Domartin, near Estrées, was living in 1374. His seal bears the arms of Joinville.

Aubert de Joinville, esquire, served the king in his wars with five other esquires of his chamber in the year 1386. His seal bears the arms of Joinville; and in 1388, on the last day of October, he did homage to the king for all that he held under him in the bailiwick of Chaumont.

Henrietta de Joinville was living, in 1387, with her husband John de Faucogney.

Peter de Joinville, lord of Bruley, left an only daughter, called Jane de Joinville, lady of Bruley, whose wardship, Antony de Lorraine, count de Vaudemont, obtained from the king by letters-patent of the first of April

* Compte de la Baillie de Troyes de l'an 1379.

1443. In this quality he obtained permission to do fuit and homage* for many lands in the bailiwick of Chaumont, that had fallen to his ward on the death of her father. Some time afterward, namely the twentieth day of January 1444, he did homage in like manner to the king for the lordship of Bruley, which belonged to the said minor.

Andrew de Joinville held the manor of the town of Espinal, under the title of Gagerie, which he sold to Conrad Bayer de Boppart, bishop of Metz, who was living in the year 1440 †.

Maude de Joinville did homage to the king by proxy, in the person of James de Heraucourt, knight, her nephew and proctor, for the moiety of the rent, and of the ferry at Bar sur Aube, the 15th February 1440.

NOTICE TO THE READER.

I COMMUNICATED the genealogy of the house of Joinville, such as you have read, to the reverend father Peter de Sainte Catherine, of the order of Feuillans, who, I had heard, was employed on this subject, and he made two or three observations which I have inserted. Since this work went to the press, he has sent me a genealogical table of this family, drawn up from titles which he had seen, that throws such important lights on it that the public must feel obliged to him.

First, with regard to the branch of the lords of Saily, he thus composes it. He gives to Guy, the first of the name lord of Saily, three sons and two daughters. The sons are, Robert lord of Saily, Simon lord of Dongeux, who left posterity, and William lord of Juilly, who had two sons, as I have noticed. The daughters were, Agnes lady of Dammartin, and Alicia abbess of the nunnery of our Lady of Foissy, near Troyes.

Robert lord of Saily left, by Aufelix his wife, Guy II. lord of Saily; Beatrice, a nun in the abbey of our Lady at Foissy; Agnes, married to John

* Regist. des Hommages, fol. 84, 85. en la Ch. des Comptes.

† Hist. des Evêques de Mets, p. 562.

de Faucogney, viscount of Vesoul; N. lady of St Aoust, and N. a nun at Benoitte-vaux. All these children of Robert lord of Saily are named in the will of Aufelix, his wife, in the year 1278.

Guy II. lord of Saily, left two children, namely Guy III. lord of Saily, and Simon, who had also posterity.

Guy III. lord of Saily espoused a lady called Margaret, in conjunction with whom, he gave, in the year 1300, twenty sols of annual rent to the abbey of Escure, for their anniversary. This marriage produced an only daughter, Alicia lady of Saily, married to Renaud de Choiseul, who stiled himself lord of Saily in the year 1312.

Simon, second son to Guy III. lord of Saily, was lord of Eschenets. He was twice married, first to Alicia de Saiffe-fontaine, secondly, to Marie de Clermont. By the first marriage he had John, Robert, Agnes and Aufelix, by the second Guy, Lore, lady of Eschenets, and Agnes. This Lore married in 1326 John de Jaucourt, surnamed de Dinteville, whose children possessed the lordship of Eschenets*.

With regard to Simon de Saily, lord of Dongeux, he was father to Guy lord of Donguex, who married Isabella d'Estrepy, and founded, with her, an hospital in the year 1300. From this marriage proceeded Guy and Oger.

Guy II. of the name, lord of Dongeux, espoused Beatrice d'Arzilliers, by whom he had Beatrice, lady of Dongeux, wife to Henry lord of Bourlaimont.

Oger de Dongeux, lord of Effincourt and la Fouche, married Margaret d'Yceleu, and had by her an only daughter called Margaret, who was thrice married, first to Henry de St Disier, lord de la Roche, then to Eudes de Savoisy, and at his decease to Croissant, lord de Flavy.

In regard to the branch of Vaucouleur, the reverend father, Peter de Sainte Catherine informs us, that Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, had, by his wife Maude de Lacy, six children, all named in a title of 1294, by which Geoffry makes a division of his property with his eldest son. Walter, with the consent of his wife and his other children, namely, Simon,

* Memoire hist. de Camusat, p. 211.

Nicholas, Peter, William, and Jane countess of Salmes. Geoffry, who was employed by the king of England, is not named in it. Nicholas was lord of Morencourt, and espoused Jane de Lautrey. Walter lord of Vaucouleur, eldest son to Geoffry, left four children; John lord of Vaucouleur, Nicholas, Peter, and Erard lord of Doulevant, who had posterity. John, lord of Vaucouleur, and afterward of Mery sur Seine, had two sons, Amé and Anfel. Amé, lord of Mery, left three daughters, Isabella, lady of Estrailles, wife to John de Sarrebruche, lord of Commercy, Margaret, married to Eudes de Culant, and Simone, wife of Charles de Poitiers, lord de Saint Valier.

Erard lord of Doulevant, youngest son to Walter lord of Vaucouleur, was father to John lord of Doulevant*, who had one son and two daughters, namely, John lord of Doulevant, Jane, first married to William de Saux, and then to John de Hans, lord of Tenoigne, and Margaret, wife of Hugh d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont. By the genealogy of this branch, it appears that those who have given Margaret, wife by her first marriage, to the lord of Culant, and secondly to the lord de Chaumont, as daughter of Anfel, lord of Joinville, have been mistaken, as it is clear the lady of Culant is a different person from the lady of Chaumont, both of them of the branch of Vaucouleur. The first made an acknowledgement to the king in 1378, for the third part of the lands of Lachy, which had fallen to her by the decease of Amé de Joinville, lord of Mery, her father.

Father Peter de St Catherine also gives as son to John lord of Joinville, and Alix de Risnel, his second wife, Andrew lord of Beau-pré, who, by Isabella, lady of Bonnet, left Anfel and Roger de Joinville. Roger, lord of Beau-pré, espoused Agnes, lady of Puligny, and had by her Aubert and Andrew. Aubert, lord of Beau-pré, married Agatha de Grand, and had two daughters, Maude married to Antoine de Ville, lord of Heraucourt, and Jane, wife to Gerard de Puligny. Andrew, brother to Aubert, was lord of Bruley in 1419, and had two sons, Peter and Andrew. Peter, lord of Bruley, was father to Jane, lady of Bruley.

* Hist. des Comtes de Valentinois, ch. 11.

The same father Peter has not given me any information respecting the branch which settled in Naples, except that he supposes John, the founder of it, was son to the lord de Joinville, author of the history of St Louis, by Alix de Rifnel, his second wife, and that he is the John surnamed Boutefeu in the obituary of St Laurence de Joinville, under the date of the 21st November, and to whom Wassebourg gives for wife Margaret de Vaudemont.



Saint Louis.

from his Monument.

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A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE LIFE OF SAINT LOUIS

WRITTEN BY

THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

BY M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE.

[*Vol. xv. of Les Mém. de l'Académie.*]

THE life of Saint Louis, written by the lord de Joinville, has always been considered as one of the most precious monuments of our history; and as a work that contains many of those qualifications which we are accustomed to wish for in the lives of private persons. The author was of very considerable rank by his birth, his connections, his employments, and still more from his personal merit. He had not only lived under the reign of the prince whose life he has written; but was moreover personally attached to him for twenty-two years, and, by consequently following him in his expeditions, had participated in the most important events of his reign.

The air of candour and good faith that accompanies his recitals prejudices the reader in his favour: the scrupulous attention he shews not to mention facts of which he was not a witness, and only to touch on such as he relates from the report of others, as his history requires: this attention, I repeat, ought to convince us, that the lord de Joinville had no other intention than to transmit to posterity nothing but what he was perfectly well informed of.

His history is not, like the greater part of the chronicles of those times, a simple recital of what passed in France and elsewhere during the reign of St Louis: it makes us intimately acquainted with that monarch: it gives us a just idea of his heart and head, and paints equally well the great man, the great saint, and the great king. The friendship and confidence with which St Louis honoured the lord de Joinville; the intimate familiarity, if I may be allowed the expression, to which he had admitted him, have furnished this lord with the means of informing us of many curious details, which, although improper for a general history, are not the less agreeable or instructive, since they more distinctly display the characters of the principal persons whom the historian successively offers to our view.

So many interesting motives to the French will not suffer them to see with indifference the attempt that has been made to tear from their hands one of their principal historians, by endeavouring to make the history of the lord de Joinville pass for a romance, not composed till the fifteenth century. For upwards of two hundred years, when it was first printed, no one had ever thought of suspecting its authenticity, when an unjust criticism appeared in the posthumous works of a learned man, more celebrated, however, for the singularity of his ideas, than for the extent of his erudition*. He maintains, that the life of Saint Louis, generally attributed to the lord de Joinville, is the work of an author very much posterior to him, who has forged the name of the supposed author of it. In a few words, these are the reasons he adduces to establish an opinion so new, and so opposite to that generally received.

Imo, 'This history,' says he, 'being dedicated to the king, Louis X. surnamed le Hutin, we must confess either that the lord de Joinville was

* Joan. Hardouin opera varia, p. 634, et seq.

then too old to remember so exactly every fact that had happened sixty years before; or, that he could not have been himself a witness of the greater part of the events which the author of the life of St Louis pretends to have been.

2do, ' If we compare the style of the history of St Louis with that of other french works of the same period, and even with the style of the letter that Joinville wrote to Louis Hutin, and which has been published by Du Cange, it will be found incomparably more modern, and more polished.

3tio, ' In this letter, written in 1315, Joinville assures Louis Hutin, that he is ready to march at the head of his vassals, to follow him in the expedition he was meditating against the Flemings, which is very improbable for a man, at such an advanced life as Joinville then was, if he was the real author of the life of St Louis, and if what he tells of himself be true.

4to, ' The titles which Joinville gives to Louis Hutin in this letter are absolutely different from those he uses in the dedication of his book *.

5to, ' In the dedicatory epistle the author says, that he composed this work at the prayer of the queen, widow to St Louis, although this princess was deceased in 1285, and the history only published in 1315.

6to, ' The author, whoever he may be, tells us that the inundation of the Nile happened about the feast-day of St Remy. Had he been in Egypt with St Louis, as he wishes to persuade us, and remained there for a twelvemonth, could he have been ignorant that the Nile begins to overflow the country about the end of June, and not in the beginning of October.

* The address on the outside of the letter from Joinville to Louis Hutin, inserted by Du Cange in his genealogy of the house of Joinville, page 20, is, ' à son bon ami seigneur, le roi de France et de Navarre;' and within side, ' à son bon seigneur Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, Johans sire de Joinville, ses sénéchaux de Champagne, salut et service appareillé.'

The dedicatory epistle to the life of St Louis is addressed,—' à très noble, très excellent et très puissant roy Loys, fils de très digne et de très saint mémoire le roi St Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie conte-palatin, Johan sire de Joinville, sénéchal de Champagne, humble et entier amour vous doint JESUS à ma prière et salut.'

7mo, ' This historian always speaks of the Turks and Saracens, and particularly at the battle of Massoura. It is however affirmed, that at that period there were no Turks in Egypt, nor Saracens in the east.'

I pass over in silence many other objections of our famous critic : they will have no weight, until it shall be granted to him that the greater part of ecclesiastical and profane authors have been suppositious writers. Hitherto such an impudent opinion has been unsuccessful in the republic of letters, and I should vainly wander from my subject were I to stop here to combat it.

I shall therefore confine myself to prove, first, that the lord de Joinville did in truth write the history of St Louis that bears his name ; that there were manuscripts of this history known even in the age when it was composed, and in all the following centuries, until Menard published the second edition. I shall then point out the different interpolations which this history, such as we have it at this day, has suffered, as well on the part of the editors as of the copyists, who were desirous of translating into modern French the original language of the author. In establishing these two points, I shall in part reply to the criticisms before quoted, and as to the other objections, it will be easily seen that they have been made solely from not knowing how to distinguish between the interpolations and the true text of Joinville.

It is one general rule of criticism, allowed by the learned, that a work is always supposed to be his whose name it bears, particularly if the author speak often of himself in the body of it, and make himself known by features that are personal to him. To destroy the consequence founded on this rule, it must be proved, that the ocular witness, whose name the impostor borrows, was not living at the time when this pretended history was made; or it must be shewn that the style of the author, without having been retouched, is not that of the age wherein he would appear to have lived. For though a book should even have been unknown during the times in which it was written, though it should even be quoted in the ensuing centuries, on the faith of a single and modern manuscript, suspicions may arise as to its authenticity, but not sufficiently strong to prove it

suppositious; because it frequently happens that a modern manuscript may have been copied from one very ancient, which after being for a long time lost has just been recovered.

The life of St Louis, by the lord de Joinville, is far from authorising such suspicions. Father Hardouin allows that there was a lord at the beginning of the fourteenth century named John de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne. He acknowledges for true both the posterior charter of 1300, wherein mention is made of the lord de Joinville and the letter written by Joinville to Louis Hutin in 1315, which is quoted by M. du Cange. It is chiefly on these two pieces he grounds his assertions, that Joinville could not have lived many years with St Louis; or, that he was too old, under the reign of Louis Hutin, to remember so exactly the smallest particularities of the life of this holy monarch. But we have a record almost contemporary, and of an authenticity proof against the most outrageous criticism, which informs us that the lord de Joinville did indeed pass a part of his life with St Louis, and that his age, at the time when he wrote the life of this prince, was not so far advanced as father Hardouin had imagined.

The record I allude to, is a manuscript-history of the life and miracles of St Louis, preserved in the national library at Paris, and which the abbé Salier has had the kindness to communicate to me. This history composes a thick quarto, of six hundred and sixty-five pages, written on vellum, in a very fair hand, and appears to be of about the middle of the fourteenth century. The vignettes, and initial letters to the chapters, are illuminated after the manner of those times; that is to say, the colours of the miniatures are very bright, but the drawings tasteless and incorrect. The author, whose modesty has, without doubt, induced him to conceal his name, informs us in the prologue, that he had undertaken this work by the command of Blanche of France, daughter to St Louis, whose confessor he was; and that he had, for eighteen years, served Margaret of Provence, wife of St Louis, in the same quality.

Blanche of France had been married to Ferdinand infant of Castille. After the death of her husband in 1275, she returned to France, founded the cordeliers in the fauxbourg St Marceau at Paris, and died there the 17th June 1320: consequently this book, composed by her order, was written at

the beginning of the fourteenth century, and by a man who had seen Saint Louis, at least during the latter years of his life.

As the principal object of the author was to edify his readers, he has satisfied himself with collecting every thing that respected the sanctity of the prince whose history he was writing, and has divided his work into two parts. The first contains twenty chapters, each of which is especially employed in displaying one of the virtues that have shone in St Louis, from his birth to his death. This part occupies two hundred and eighty-three pages of the manuscript. The second division contains the recital of sixty-three miracles performed by the intercession of St Louis, and includes from page 285. to page 665.

The documents the author has made use of to compose his history could not be more authentic; for they are the inquisitions that were held prior to the canonization of St Louis. The three commissioners delegated by pope Martin IV. to hold these inquests were, William archbishop of Rouen, William bishop of Auxerre, and Roland bishop of Spoleto.

Our anonymous author declares, that part of the inquisitions were remitted to him at Paris, by Jean de Samois, bishop of Lisieux, who had been employed to solicit the canonization at Rome; and that the other part was sent him from Rome by friar John of Antioch, penitentiary to the pope and companion to the bishop of Lisieux.

The work of our anonymous writer being nothing more than an extract from these inquisitions, in order that every one may judge of their fidelity, he gives notice that he has placed the originals with the Freres-Mineurs in their convent at Paris, where those who please may compare them.

When the canonization of St Louis was proceeding, a double inquest was made: one respecting his life and actions, the other as to the miracles he had performed after his decease. The inquest, regarding the miracles, began in the month of May 1282, and finished in the month of March 1283. The commissioners received the depositions of those who had been miraculously cured through the intercession of St Louis, and of those who had witnessed these miraculous cures. The inquest on his life and actions commenced on Friday the 12th of August 1282, and was terminated on the ensuing Friday. Philippe le Hardy, king of France, Charles I. king of

Sicily, the royal family of France, the bishops, abbots, those lords of the court who had attended longest on the king St Louis, several officers of his household, and many religious of both sexes, gave their testimonies before the commissioners. Our anonymous author has given, at the end of his prologue, the names of all those who deposed on this occasion; and, among them, we find the lord de Joinville described in these words,—
 ‘ Monseigneur Jehan sire de Joinville, chevalier, du dyocèse de Chaalons, home d’avisé age, et moult riche sénéchal de Champagne, de 50 ans ou environ.’ What can be opposed to such strong evidence, which clearly demonstrates that the lord de Joinville had passed part of his life with Saint Louis? For what other reasons could there have been to have made him depose as to the actions and life of this prince? But this is not the only testimony the confessor to queen Margaret has given to Joinville.

In the chapter wherein he treats of the love St Louis had for his neighbour, he gives for instance the lessons this holy king gave ‘ à noble chevalier monseigneur Jehan de Joinville, sénéchal de Champagne , qui fu avec li en sa court assés privéement, et de son hostel par xxiv. ans et plus.’ He then adds the charitable correction St Louis gave Joinville on his saying, that he would rather commit thirty deadly sins than have the leprosy. This conversation, which Joinville had without doubt detailed in his deposition, was not out of his memory when he undertook to write the life of St Louis, where he relates it, as well as many other lessons which he had received from this prince, and which our anonymous author also reports in the judicial evidence of Joinville.

In another chapter, where the hatred St Louis had for all scandal is discussed, the anonymous writer says that the person who affirmed, on his oath, that he had never heard this righteous king utter ought that could wound the reputation of another, was ‘ Monseigneur Jehan de Jenville, chevalier, home meur age, et moult riche, qui fu aveques le saint roy par xxxiv. ans et plus, assés privéement et de sa mesniée.’ It may be supposed that our author here contradicts himself, because, in a passage before quoted, he says that Joinville had been twenty-four years at the court of St Louis; or we at least suppose that he contradicts Joinville, who from his history of St Louis seems only to have been attached to this prince from the first

croisade in the year 1248, which makes but twenty-two years until the death of the king. But beside a mistake of a figure in the number thirty-four, there is a strong probability that the anonymous author includes in this number of years not only those Joinville had passed with St Louis, but also those he had afterwards passed at the court of Philippe le Hardy, to the time he gave his depositions, relative to the life and actions of his ancient master. These depositions were made in the year 1282; and if we reckon back to 1248, the time when Joinville first entered into the service of St Louis, we shall find the amount to be precisely the thirty-four mentioned by our author. We cannot wish therefore for any thing more authentic than this testimony, to assure us of the credit of which the history of St Louis by the lord de Joinville is deserving; and I believe if father Hardouin had taken the trouble to consult this manuscript-history of the life and miracles of St Louis, he would have been sensible of the weakness of his objections.

This history would have taught him, that at the time when the lord de Joinville composed it, he was not of that extreme old age as to make his memory seem a prodigy. The list of witnesses that were heard at the before-mentioned inquisitions in 1282 intimate that Joinville was then fifty years old, or thereabout. Joinville says in his history that he was present at the cour-plénière which St Louis held at Saumur, and that he carved before the king of Navarre. This cour-plénière, according to Guillaume de Nangis, a contemporary author, was held in 1241; and if we must literally understand that Joinville was but fifty years old in 1282, he could not have been more than nine or ten when he carved before the king of Navarre; but it is plain that the words *fifty*, or *thereabout*, mean that he was from fifty to fifty-five years old. The function of carving before the king was exercised by young men of quality, who were under age to receive the order of knighthood. It does not appear that any fixed age was necessary to be admitted to the office of esquire-carver; and it is related in the history of petit Jean de Saintré, that the king said, on seeing him dressed out from the money the lady des Belles Cousines had given him, 'I wish he had three or four of my years, and he should be my esquire-carver,' because Saintré was then but thirteen years old; we can thence only

conclude, that the king of Navarre had made the lord de Joinville, nearly of the same age, carve before him, because he was the son of the first officer in his county of Champagne, and of one of the principal lords at his court, advantages which Saintré, the son of a poor knight, did not enjoy.

On this ground, Joinville must have been born about the year 1228 or 1229. He was in good health in 1315, since he then wrote to Louis Hutin that he was ready to follow him, with his vassals, to the war. He could not at that time be more than eighty-six or eighty-seven years old at the utmost; and although it be an uncommon circumstance to have preserved so much vigour to that age, the instances we have of many at this day ought to make us think it the less surprising.

If in 1315 Joinville felt himself strong enough to follow the king to the war, ought we to think it strange that his memory should faithfully recal to his mind all that had passed in his youth? He had the less difficulty in so doing, for during the interval that had occurred since the death of St Louis, he had been called upon to relate the same facts on a judicial inquest; and perhaps he may have kept copies of his depositions for the greater ease of his recollection.

After all, it is unnecessary to attribute to Joinville a very extraordinary memory: the dates of a dedication and of the publication of a work are not always that of its composition. The dedicatory epistle to Louis Hutin proves in truth that Joinville only published his history in 1314 or 1315; but it appears also, from some passages in the book itself, that he had written it ten years before. Such for instance is the passage where, in speaking of those who took the cross in 1248, Joinville remarks, that Guy de Flandres, one of the crusaders, had died lately at Compiègne; for Guy de Dampierre becoming count of Flanders by the death of his elder brother, William, deceased at Pontoise, whither they had carried him from Compiègne the 7th March 1305.

In speaking a little before of the count de Bretagne, Jean de Dreux, first of the name, Joinville had said that he was father to the reigning duke. Now this prince, who was the first duke of Brittany, called Jean II. died the 18th November 1305. From these two passages, it is easy to point

out the time when Joinville wrote his history, because, in mentioning these two sovereigns, who died in the same year seven months only from each other, he speaks of the one as lately deceased and of the other as still living.

Joinville, born about the year 1228, could not be at the most more than seventy-seven years old in 1305; and such a man, who, ten years afterward, was able to mount his horse when armed, could not have lost any thing of his memory. It has been therefore solely from ignorance of the age of Joinville, and of the period when he wrote his book, that father Hardouin has so daringly asserted, that it was impossible the life of St Louis could have been the work of him to whom it has always been attributed.

Joinville wrote the life of St Louis, as we have just seen, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Manuscripts of it were known about the middle of the same century, for we find it announced in the catalogue of the library of king Charles V. in these words: 'Une grand partie de la vie et des faiz de monsieur St Loys, que fit faire le sire de Joinville, très bien escript et historié, couvert de cuir rouge à empraines, à fermoirs d'argent.' I do not believe that there are any critics so unjust as to pretend that the book announced in this catalogue is different from the one we have at this day, under the pretext that it is there said the lord de Joinville 'le fit faire;' whereas he himself wrote, or at least appears to have written, the one which has been printed; for it is evident from these words of the author of the catalogue, that he only meant to express himself in the same terms with Joinville in his dedication, who there tells us, that he had made use of the hand of a secretary, who had written under his dictating. It is very natural, considering his great age, and the little habitude persons of quality in France were in at that time of writing themselves, that the lord de Joinville should have employed another hand than his own to write a book destined to be presented to the king. I believe also that I have good reasons to suppose, that the copy found in the library of the Louvre in the reign of Charles V. was that which Joinville presented to Louis X. to whom he had dedicated it. At least, however, it cannot be denied but there was then in the king's library a copy of the life of St Louis, which bore the name of Joinville, and of which the lord de Joinville was acknowledged to

be the author. Now this was in the same century in which Joinville had written his history, and only fifty-eight years after it had been made public; for this catalogue was drawn up by Gilles Mallet, valet de chambre to Charles V. in 1373, who was intrusted by that king with the care of his library.

In the succeeding century, king René had a manuscript of the chronicle of Joinville; and it was this manuscript the first editor used when he published it. This editor's name was Antoine Pierre, a native of Rieux in Languedoc; and he tells us, in his dedicatory epistle addressed to Francis,—
1. * That when at Beaufort en vallée in Anjou, examining the books and papers that had belonged to king René, whose love for letters is sufficiently known, he there found the life of St Louis written by the lord de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne. Thus, therefore, as there was in the fourteenth century a manuscript of this life in the king's library, there was, in the fifteenth century, another manuscript of the same in the library of king René.

In the sixteenth century, some years prior to the publication of the first edition of Joinville, Louis Lasseré, canon of St Martin's at Tours, and purveyor to the house of Navarre, being employed on a third edition of his life of St Jerome †, inserted in it an abridgement of the life of St Louis: for this purpose he made use of a life of this prince written by Joinville, which Antoinette de Bourbon, duchess of Guise, lent him, as he himself

* These are the words of Antoine Pierre: ' Il y a deux ans ou environ que moy estant à Beaufort en vallée au pays d'Anjou, visitant quelques vieux regîtres du roi René de Cecile, pour y cuider trouver quelque antiquité dont il avoit été amateur, aurois trouvé la chronique du-roi St Loys-escritte par un seigneur de Joinville, seneschal de Champagne, qui estoit de ce tems la, et avoit accompagné le dit roy en toutes ses guerres.'

† This book of Lasseré, which I have had much difficulty to find, is intitled,—' La vie de monseigneur St Hiérome, recongneue et augmentée du tiers pour la troisieme fois par l'auteur, ou sont inferées en brief la vie de monseigneur St Loys, roy de France, amplement augmentée; en laquelle sont traitées, les conditions d'ung homme magnanime, qui estoient en mondit seigneur Saint Loys, &c.—Imprimée à Paris, au Soleil d'Or, Rue St Jacques, par Charlotte Guillard, veufve de feu Claude Chavallon, 1541.'—It is a large 4to, of 399 pages. The life of St Louis, Lasseré has placed at the 45th chapter.

says, in the dedicatory epistle* addressed to Louisa de Bourbon, abbess of Fontevrault and sister to this duchess.

This third edition of the life of St Jerome was printed in 1541 : the first edition of Joinville is dated 1547 ; the copy therefore which the duchess of Guise lent Lasseré must have been in manuscript ; and, as the estate of Joinville then belonged to the house of Guise, there is great presumption that this manuscript had been found in the castle, and was, perhaps, the original of the author.

The sieur de la Croix du Maine, whose ‘Bibliothèque Française’ was printed in 1584, says positively, at page 235, that there existed a manuscript, on vellum, of the history of St Louis by Joinville, written in the French of that time. At length, in the early part of the seventeenth century, Claude Menard, lieutenant of the provostship of Angers, discovered among many old papers which the sieur de la Mesnèrie showed him at Laval, and which had belonged to a Calvinist minister, another manuscript of the same history ; and from this manuscript he published a new edition in 1617. It is true, that through some incomprehensible misfortune these different manuscripts are no more to be found ; and that all the endeavours of the celebrated M. du Cange, to discover one of them, have been fruitless. It is not however less evident, by all the proofs I have brought forward, that manuscripts of the life of St Louis have been known in every succeeding age, from the time when it was written, until the beginning of the last century. It is equally certain, that all these manuscripts unanimously attribute this work to the lord de Joinville. However grievously the loss of these copies may be deplored, and I agree that our regrets are founded, yet it would be unjust to make this loss a ground for accusing of falsehood a

* In the dedication to Louisa de Bourbon, Lasseré thus speaks of the augmentations to this new life of St Jerome ;—‘ Aussi ai-je adjousté (outre ce que dessus) au quarante cinquième chapitre (contenant en brief la vie de mondit seigneur Saint Loys, roy de France), les conditions et propriétés d’ung homme magnanime (qui estoient en iceluy seigneur et roy Saint Loys), et ay traité plusieurs autres bons poincts que ay trouvez en divers historiens, et par especial en la vie dudit Saint, laquelle à escripte messire Jehan de Joinville, chevalier, seneschal de Champagne (qui à servy journellement ledict St Loys par trente ans et plus), que ay recouverte de madame la duchesse de Guise, Antionette de Bourbon, votre bonne sœur, et dame de grand renom.’

history, the authenticity of which all the learned, who have carefully examined it, have loudly acknowledged.

I may perhaps be suspected of multiplying these manuscripts of Joinville, upon the supposition that some of them may have been the same which passed successively through a variety of hands; but this objection I can readily answer, by marking the differences I have noticed in these five manuscripts.

That which is mentioned in the catalogue of the books of Charles V. presuming it was different from the presentation-copy, was, however, so near the time of its composition, that we must suppose it was perfectly complete, and that the language was unaltered. On the contrary, the manuscript of king René, of which we may judge from the Poitiers edition, printed from it, was imperfect, and the whole of the first part wanting. This first part, which occupies twenty-seven pages of Menard's edition, has no connection, properly speaking, with the general history. Joinville endeavours, in it, to make us acquainted with the good temper, the justice, piety, and other virtues of his hero: St Louis is there shewn more at home, and in his family, than on the throne; and it is the second part that contains the history of his reign. The editor of the Poitiers-edition has not given the smallest fragment of the first part, because he had not found it in the manuscript of king René, and consequently we cannot believe this to be the same manuscript which had belonged to Charles V. It is still less probable that the manuscript found at Laval was what had belonged to our kings, because the style of the manuscript of Menard was not only more modern than that which was in use at the time of Joinville, but even more modern than the language spoken under Charles V.'s reign, as I shall more fully explain hereafter. La pere du Molinet, in a memoir which M. Boivin has inserted in his curious dissertation on the library at the Louvre, under the reigns of Charles V. Charles VI. and Charles VII. has properly remarked that many books of this library had been sent to England in 1429, when the duke of Bedford gave a receipt for them to Garnier de Saint-Yon, who had the care of it. If I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture respecting the fate of the manuscript of the life of St Louis, by Joinville, I would say that it was in the number of those books that crossed the sea in 1429, and that

it has been lost in England, as well as several other manuscripts that have been transported to that island, and which have been sought for in vain to this present day.

The manuscript of the dukes of Guise was not less different from that of king René, for we find from the abridgement of Lasseré, that it contained the first part wanting to the other. It varied also from the manuscript of Menard; for in the passage where it is said that Joinville was obliged to carry St Louis in his arms from the house of the count d'Auxerre to the church of the Cordeliers: the edition of Menard informs us that this fact took place on his return from Palestine, whilst Lasseré, copying the manuscript of the dukes of Guise, says that it happened a little before he, St Louis, set out on his second expedition.

The manuscript of la Croix du Maine was neither the one from which Lasseré has given us an abridgement, nor that which Antoine Pierre copied; for la Croix du Maine notices the use which Lasseré had made of the history of St Louis written by Joinville, and the edition published at Poitiers by Antoine Pierre, without adding that either of them had made use of his manuscript, which he would not have failed to have done had it been true. This manuscript of la Croix du Maine could have still less served for the edition of Menard; for this last tells us, that his manuscript had passed through the hands of an old Calvinist minister, the companion of Marlorat, to those of M. de la Mesnerié, from whom he received it, consequently this manuscript could not have been in the possession of la Croix du Maine in 1584; and, beside, the language of the manuscript of la Croix du Maine was in the old French of the time of St Louis, which is different from that of Menard.

In truth, Menard found his manuscript in the same province where Antoine Pierre had discovered his, but the two manuscripts were very different. That of Antoine Pierre, as I have before said, contained only the second part of the history of the lord de Joinville: the manuscript of Menard had in addition the whole of the first part; but, on the other hand, the manuscript of Menard was less ample than that of Antoine Pierre's in many places of the second part. In the edition of this last, copied from the manuscript of king René, after having spoken of the arrival of St Louis at

Acre, Joinville employs the remaining part of the chapter in describing the pitiful state to which the king was reduced by the faithless conduct of the commander of the temple, to whom he had intrusted his money. We can hardly suppose, then, these details, so minute and personal to Joinville, have been the work of interpolators: they are not, however, to be found in the edition of Menard.

M. du Cange was persuaded that another chapter of this same edition of Poitiers, where the capture of Bagdad by the cham of the Tartars is noticed, was truly Joinville's, although the edition by Menard does not mention one word of it. I say as much concerning that part, where, according to the edition of Poitiers, Joinville relates his conversation with queen Margaret, to console her for the death of her mother-in-law queen Blanche. This recital is of a simplicity so delightful, and so conformable to the ingenuous manners of the age of St Louis, that it cannot be doubted that it came from the pen of Joinville, notwithstanding Menard found it not in his manuscript.

In the account of the voyage of St Louis on his return from his first expedition to Palestine, the edition of Menard suppresses a trait of goodness and humanity of this prince, which doubtless had not escaped the lord de Joinville. It is, when St Louis patiently waits eight whole days off the island of Pantalaria, and would not quit sight of it, until he was rejoined by the galleys that had landed on the island in search of fruit for his children. This trait is related in the edition of Poitiers; and it is the more certain that it was written by Joinville as it is found in the manuscript of the duchess of Guise, whence Lasseré has extracted it.

The foregoing detail evidently proves, that five different manuscripts of the history of St Louis have been known; and these manuscripts all bearing the name of Joinville, and succeeding each other from age to age since the history was first written to the time of Claude Menard, they form a chain of tradition that must destroy every suspicion that Joinville was not the real author of this work. There is still less foundation to suppose that this life of St Louis was but a romance, and that this romance was composed in the fifteenth century: for on the one hand the facts agree perfectly with all our known histories, and above all with that written by the confessor to queen

Margaret; and, on the other, the simplicity and ingenuousness of the style warrant the truth of the details related by the author, details that have nothing of the marvellous with which all our old romances are filled, and which are consistent with the character of the hero he was describing. Beside, the date those who have treated this history as a romance with to give it, is absolutely annihilated by the catalogue of the books of Charles V. made in 1373, an original piece, and invested with every character of authenticity that can be desired.

We might console ourselves for the loss of these manuscripts of Joinville, if the two different editions of Poitiers and Menard faithfully represented the original; but the language of the author has been altered in both, and those who have changed the language have had no scruples to insert into the text various additions, which have almost completely disfigured it.

When Antoine Pierre had made the discovery of his manuscript among the papers of king René, he instantly began to prepare it for the press: but he unfortunately imagined that he should render a great service to the public by putting this work in modern French, such as was then spoken; that is to say, under the reign of Francis I. to whom he dedicated it. Beside that this change would have been easily perceived, Antoine Pierre took care to inform the public of it, in his dedicatory epistle; and one of his friends, named Guillaume de la Perriere, a Toulousain, in a notice to the reader, printed at the end of the work, was not wanting in his praise of Antoine Pierre for what he had done, by declaring the merit of this sort of translation to be equal to that of the original.

Not satisfied with this infidelity, the editor of the Poitiers edition, perceiving that Joinville had but cursorily noticed the first years of the reign of St Louis, and that he had omitted several facts related by other contemporary historians, thought himself bound to supply this loss, and copy, whether from the history of St Louis by Nangis or from the chronicle of the same author, what was deficient in Joinville. By this means he added a very great number of interpolations to the text of his author, and these interpolations are the more difficult to discover as there is nothing to distinguish them from the text, for what may have been copied elsewhere forms a continued discourse with what is truly Joinville's.

The third chapter is wholly taken from Guillaume de Nangis. In the fourth and fifth, where mention is made of the troubles excited in the realm by the great barons, during the minority of St Louis, Antoine Pierre has intermixed with what Joinville had written of them other particulars that he met with in the historians of the time. He does the same thing in the succeeding chapters, and he has besides totally changed Joinville's order of narration. The greater part of the twelfth chapter is not Joinville's. It is the same with chapters xiv. xv. xvi. In short, it is very difficult to be certain that what we read in this edition was really written by Joinville, unless we have the attention to compare it with those of Menard and Du Cange. Hence, it has happened, that the learned who have written before these two last editions were published, have been deceived in quoting, as from Joinville, passages that were not his. I shall content myself by producing Estienne Pasquier as an instance of this.

This celebrated advocate says, in one part of his '*Recherches sur la France*,' that the lord de Joinville related, that when St Louis was in the island of Cyprus, he there received an embassy from the cham of the Tartars, to inform him of his conversion to Christianity; that, on this intelligence, the holy monarch, full of joy, dispatched preachers to attempt the conversion of the rest of the Tartars; that these preachers, incessantly repeating in their sermons that the pope was the vicar of God on earth, the cham of Tartary formed the design of sending ambassadors to the pope, to pay him his filial obedience; but that these same preachers, fearing that if the ambassadors should go to Rome, and there witness the disorders that reigned among Christians, they would on their return engage their master to resume his former errors, wisely resolved to dissuade the cham from this design.

Pasquier afterward observes, that perhaps Boccacio may have taken from Joinville the story of the Christian merchant who wanted to convert a Jew.

Pasquier was only acquainted with Joinville from the edition of Antoine Pierre, the single edition published in his time; we must not therefore be surpris'd at his attributing this tale to Joinville, though it is but an addition of the editor; for in the edition of Menard there is nothing like it; notwithstanding the arrival of the ambassadors from the cham of Tartary is

noticed, as well as the journey of the two Cordeliers sent to Tartary by Saint Louis, and the account they gave on their return of what they had seen in that country. We may with more reason reproach Pasquier with having inadvertently substituted *Rome* for *France*, when he speaks of the fears the preachers had lest the envoys of the cham should see too nearly the disorders of the Christians; for these are the words of the edition of Poitiers: ‘ Mais les prescheurs connoissant qui si les ambassadeurs venoient en *France*, ils verroient tout autrement vivre le peuple qu’ils ne leur avoient dit et presché, qui pourroit être cause de reprendre leur erreur payenne.’ In fact, at the time the cham was desirous to send ambassadors to the pope, Innocent IV. who then filled the chair of St Peter, was in France; and it would have been in France, and not at Rome, that these ambassadors would have witnessed the difference of the practice of the Christians from the morality they had been preaching.

If father Hardouin had been aware that at the time of Pasquier there was no other edition of Joinville but that of Poitiers, he would not have taxed him with want of memory, when, in another part of his ‘*recherches*,’ he says, he had read in Joinville, relative to *Pierre MAUCLERC*, that the Bretons had wrongfully given him this surname, since he had studied a long time at *Paris*; for this passage is not in the editions of Menard or of Du Cange, but is almost verbatim in that of Poitiers, the only one which Pasquier could have read; but probably he who made this reproach was not acquainted with this.

In addition to the articles which Antoine Pierre has taken from contemporary historians, he has inserted several others, of which he is the sole author, and which shew his perfect ignorance of the history of that period. For instance, he declares, in the twelfth chapter, that Saint Louis raised the county of Poitou into a duchy, in favour of his brother Alphonso. Joinville, as may be seen in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, has said nothing like it; for he has never, in the course of his work, given to this brother of St Louis any other title than that of Count; and it is also the only one which Alphonso has taken in the different deeds executed by him: a great number of them are among the proofs in the third volume of the history of Languedoc.

The ignorance of Antoine Pierre was so great, that he could not understand his author; for in the part where Joinville makes the enumeration of those who took the cross in 1248, and where, after naming Guillaume comte de Flandres, and his brother Guyon de Flandres, he adds, that this last 'puis n' a guères mourut à Compiégne.' This editor believed that Joinville intended to inform his reader, by this expression, that Guy de Flandres had died at Compiégne shortly after having put on the cross, and has entirely changed the sense of the author, by making him say that 'Guyon de Flandres mourut à Compiégne, et ne se trouva point avec le roy.' Had he known any thing of history, he could not have been ignorant that Guy of Flanders did accompany the king to Palestine, and that he did not die before 1305, as I have said at the beginning of this dissertation. If he had been acquainted with the language of Joinville, he would have comprehended that the expression 'puis n' a guères,' did not mean that Guy of Flanders died instantly after having taken the cross, but that he died a little before Joinville wrote that part of his history.

The carelessness of the first editor equals his ignorance. Can it possibly be believed that he paid any attention to what he was writing, when he says, that the feast of St Louis was celebrated on the 7th of August? This phrase is not in the edition of Menard, who printed the text of Joinville conformably to his manuscript. If Antoine Pierre, the author of this edition, was ignorant that the bull of Boniface VIII. for the canonization of St Louis, fixes the feast for the morrow of that of St Bartholomew, he ought at least to have remembered, that it was on that day the church celebrates it yearly.

Claude Menard has not taken the same liberties as the first editor. When he discovered a new manuscript of the life of St Louis, he thought he should be enabled to repair all the wrongs that Antoine Pierre had done to Joinville. He had persuaded himself, and even announced in the title of his edition, that he had found the original of the author. But the learned have, for a long time, been aware of this error of Menard; and all who have examined this new edition attentively have judged that Antoine Pierre was not the first, nor the only one, who thought proper to retouch and interpolate the text of Joinville. The most moderate knowledge of the french language, as spoken

at the time of St Louis, is sufficient to shew that the style of the manuscript of Menard is much more modern. We have plenty of french books written by contemporaries of Joinville ; such are the chronicles in verse of Philippe Mouskes * and Guillaume Guiart †, the translation which William Nangis made himself of his latin chronicle, ‘ Les Etablissements,’ attributed to Saint Louis, ‘ Le Conseil’ of Pierre Fontaine, and many more, the enumeration of which would be useless.

On comparing some one of these authors with the Joinville of Menard, it will easily be seen that the language of this last has been altered by some more modern writer. In the genealogy of the house of Joinville by Du Cange, it is positively said, that the history we possess of Joinville has been altered in its idiom. The Journal des Sçavans, in giving an account of the new history of Joinville procured through the labours of M. du Cange, have likewise acknowledged that this history was not composed in the state in which it now appears. M. Baillet has given the same opinion. Menard is almost the only one who has believed that the manuscript found at Laval was a faithful copy of the original. He might readily have corrected himself, if he had but paid attention to the difference of language between the precepts of St Louis to Philippe le Hardy, his son, such as they are related by Joinville in his history, and these same precepts which he has published himself, in his observations, from a manuscript of Antoine Loyfel. Joinville cannot reasonably be suspected of having altered the style of these precepts, which are pretended to have been written in St Louis’s own hand. He spoke no other language than that of the king his master, and the French of St Louis could not have become so difficult to be understood, during the short time that passed from that monarch’s death to the period of Joinville’s writing his life, as to need a translation.

We must therefore suppose that Joinville had recited these precepts from one of the copies that were abroad at that time ; and of these copies, beside those of Joinville and Antoine Loyfel, I have discovered two others in the

* See p. 10 note.

† Guillaume Guiart composed likewise a history of France in verse, entitled ‘ *La Branche aux Reaux Lignages.*’ It begins in 1165, and ends 1306.

two manuscript lives of St Louis that are in the royal library. I have already noticed one of them, and I shall soon speak more fully of the other. The manuscript of Loyfel is conformable to those in the library, one of which is certainly but little posterior to the death of St Louis, and the other was written a short time prior to 1320. The whole difference to be remarked among these manuscripts arises solely from the diversity of dialects used in the countries where they were copied. The two manuscripts in the library seem to have been written at Paris, and that of Loyfel in Picardy. But although in these precepts, such as Joinville relates them, the same plan and order be observed, the language is totally different, and is the same that runs through the whole work of Joinville. Menard, who had copied the manuscript of Loyfel, ought to have concluded that the original language of Joinville had been retouched by the person who had written the manuscript found at Laval, and from which he published his edition.

It would now be difficult to determine when this alteration of style took place, because Menard has neglected to mark nearly the age of his manuscript. It could not, however, have happened until after the middle of the fifteenth century. We have no author of the fourteenth century whose style has not more of antiquity in it; and, even at the beginning of the fifteenth, I find that the language in the life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon, written in 1429 by Jean d'Oronville, is somewhat older than that of the Joinville by Menard. I am not afraid to advance that the chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and the memoirs of Olivier de la Marche, do not appear more modern. The interpolator of Joinville may have been contemporary with these authors, and a hand still more recent may have made new additions, since facts are found in it that were unknown until the first years of the reign of Francis I. I shall not fail to point them out at the end of this dissertation.

It has perhaps been always the consequence of altering the style of an author, that similar liberties have been taken with the body of the work. The first interpolators of Joinville, therefore, have not failed to insert from their own head many phrases and words, with a view to make their author more intelligible to the readers of their time. I will give some instances of this. Joinville is made to say, ‘ Car de coutume après ce que les sires de Néelles, et le bon seigneur de Soissons, moy et autres de ses prouches, avions

été à la messe, il falloît que nous allissions voir les pletz de la porte, que maintenant on appelle, Les Requêtes du Palais à Paris.' It is clear, that these last words are not Joinville's; for, in the first place, 'Les Requêtes du Palais' were not, properly speaking, succeeded by 'Les Plaids de la Porte,' but by 'Les Requêtes de l'Hôtel:' in the second place, the most ancient ordinances, in which mention is made either of the requêtes du palais, or of the hôtel, are of the reign of Philippe de Valois, as may be seen in the book of Miraulmont on jurisdictions exercised within the circuit of the palace. Joinville could not therefore have spoken of them, and we may be assured that this explanation is the work of some interpolator.

In another part, where Joinville speaks of those lords who were desirous, at the beginning of the reign of St Louis to deprive queen Blanche of the regency, we read as follows, in the editions of Menard and Du Cange: 'Ils firent du comte de Boulogne, qui estoit oncle du roy darreinément trespassé son pere, leur cheivetaine, et le tenoient comme pour leur seigneur et maitre.' These words seem to signify that the count de Boulogne was uncle to the king lately deceased, father to St Louis. Such a mistake must not be imputed to Joinville, who could not be ignorant that Philippe of France, count of Boulogne, was son to Philippe Auguste, consequently brother to Louis VIII. and uncle to St Louis. We may therefore be certain that the words '*darreinément trespassé son pere*, are an addition of an interpolator; and we may the more positively affirm this, as they are not to be found in the manuscript of king René: the edition of Poitiers calling the count of Boulogne simply *uncle to the king*.

But all these changes and alterations in the Joinville of Menard will be more readily known if the reader will take the pains to collate the ordinance of St Louis on the reformation of manners and justice, which is there cited with the same ordinance published in the great collection of ordinances of our kings of the third race, or with the copy inserted in the second manuscript life of St Louis that I before spoke of.

This manuscript forms a small folio of seventy leaves of vellum: it had belonged to the famous Bureau de la Riviere, chamberlain, and, in some measure, first minister to Charles V. The lord de la Riviere died in 1400; but as the notice that informs us this book had belonged to him, seems written in a much more modern hand than that of the body of the

work, it must have been written in the reign of Philippe de Valois, if it is but a copy : should it be an original, it will be prior to 1298, because the historian never gives to St Louis the title of Saint, and makes no mention whatever of his canonization, not even when he says that the bones of this prince were put into a shrine at St Denis, and that they had performed many miracles. This life is consequently more ancient than that of Joinville, who did not begin his until after the canonization of that monarch, of which he speaks more than once, and is the first of the lives of this king written in French. The author being a contemporary has faithfully transcribed the ordinance of St Louis, such as he had published it; and as it was impossible for him to change the language, there is not the smallest probability that he should have altered its provisions.

It is equally improbable that Joinville, writing a few years after, should have made any changes in it; and yet, in the same ordinance as it stands in the Joinville of Menard, not only the language is very different from that of the manuscript, but also the several clauses that are in it are mixed and confounded with each other : many are totally suppressed, and, beside this, we find in it mention made of things that were unknown until a long time after the age of Joinville. I will give a remarkable instance of this. It is said in the second article of this ordinance, ‘ Li bailli et li official dessus nommés jureront que ilz garderont loyaument nos rentes et nos droiz, ne ne soufferront qu’ ilz faichent qu’ il nous soit soustrait, osté ne amenuisié.’ It is thus in the edition of M. de Laurière, and in the manuscript life of Saint Louis.

In the editions of Menard and Du Cange this same article is as follows : ‘ Nos thresoriers, receveurs, prevotz, auditeurs de comptes, et autres officiers et entre metteurs de nos finances, jureront que bien et loiaument ils garderont nos rentes et domaines aveques toutz et chacuns nos droitz, libertéz et preéminences, sans leffer ni souffrir en estre rien soustrait, ousté, ni amenuisié.’ We cannot but be surprised to see in this sort of paraphrase, that an ordinance of St Louis should mention auditors of accounts. Their origin is well known : they were at first simply called clerks, because they served as clerks to the masters of accounts. An edict of Francis I. dated 1520, on the creation of several new offices in the chamber of accounts,

gave them the title of clerks and auditors, and, in course of time, they were called auditors of accounts, as Miraulmont has justly observed. Here, then, is an interpolation clearly proved, and made at a time very near to that when the first edition of Joinville was printed. It must thence result, either that the manuscript of Menard was not one hundred years old when found at Laval, or that after one hundred years had elapsed, some one through whose hands it passed had made in it interlineary additions, which Menard has improperly mistaken for the text.

The interpolator, sometimes by paraphrasing or abridging the provisions of the ordinance, has so blundered in parts of it, that he makes it declare precisely the contrary to what were the intentions of the legislator. He confines to bailiffs, provosts, judges, and other officers, the injunctions against blasphemy, swearing, playing at dice, frequenting taverns, or houses of ill fame, whereas the article x. of the ordinance extends these injunctions to all the king's subjects generally. By the xvth article all bailiffs and judges are forbidden to marry their sons and daughters within their jurisdictions; but in the Joinville of Menard it is precisely the contrary, for there they are forbidden to marry their children out of their jurisdictions.

I believe I have said enough to show that the text of Joinville has been much interpolated; for assuredly he could never speak of offices that were created after his death, and he was not so illiterate as to construe in a wrong sense the ordinances of St Louis, especially as he had been so often employed by this prince to distribute justice.

I have now proved, if I be not mistaken, first, that the life of St Louis, which bears the name of the lord de Joinville, is not a supposititious work, but is truly his whose name it bears, and that manuscript copies of it have been known for more than three centuries. Secondly, I have also shewn that the first printed edition had been interpolated by the editor, and that the second edition had been edited from a manuscript which in former times had undergone the same alterations, although these alterations were unnoticed by the editor. In discussing these two articles, I have destroyed the objections to the age at which Joinville was supposed to have written this history, and against the difference of style of the authors of the age of St Louis and that of the two editions of Joinville. It must then follow,

that whatever may be found in this life of St Louis contrary to the truths of which Joinville could not be ignorant, ought to be solely placed to the account of the interpolators, since the authenticity of the work has been otherwise so strongly proved. It now only remains for me to give some account of those passages that have caused so much trouble to the celebrated critic whom I am refuting, and the solution will not be difficult by keeping to the principles I have laid down.

Joinville, it is said, dedicated his work, ‘à très noble et très puissant roy Loys, fils de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie, comte palatin ;’ and he thus addresses him in the body of the dedication,—‘ Très noble et puissant seigneur, vous plaist sçavoir que feu ma très excellente dame votre mere, que Dieu absoille ! pour la grant amour qu’ elle avoit à moy, aussi qu’ elle favoit bien que très loyalement j’ avoye amé et servi le dit seigneur roy St Loys son bon espoux me requist que je fisse faire et escrire un livret et traité des très dignes et très saints faits et dits, du dit seigneur roy St Loys Et parce que à vous qui êtes l’ainé fils et hoir, et qui avés succédé au royaume après le dit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre dit pere, envoie le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n’appartient de l’avoir.’

How could it have been possible for Joinville to have given the name of Louis to the eldest son and immediate successor of St Louis, when he must have known that this prince was named Philippe ? If it shall be said, that it was a fault of the copyist, and that Joinville had written Philippe instead of Louis, as we read in the first edition ; we ask, how could Joinville have given to Philippe le hardy, the titles of king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie ? how could he have supposed that his mother was dead, since that princess did not die till a year after the decease of her son ? Such are the strongest objections that can be made against the authenticity of Joinville. M. du Cange had before observed them, and had seen no other means to obviate them than by saying, that the name of Louis had slipped into the address of the dedication instead of Philippe, and that it was to Philippe le bel that Joinville had dedicated his work ; and that, for the expression *father* and *mother*, we must read grandfather and grandmother.

I cannot think that M. du Cange was satisfied with this explanation: I own, that for my part I should not have been contented with it; for, in the first place, the names of Philippe and Louis are not so much alike that a copyist could mistake the one for the other: beside, the name of Louis is not only found in the manuscript of Menard, but also in the manuscript of Lasseré. Secondly, M. du Cange has not produced any instance from authors contemporary with Joinville, where the names of *pere* and *mere* were used for *ayeul* and *ayeule*. Thirdly, if it were queen Margaret of Provence who entreated Joinville to write the life of St Louis, this princess was dead in 1285, and, Joinville not beginning his work before 1305, we shall be forced to suppose, against all probability, that Joinville did not attempt to execute the orders of the queen till twenty years after her death,

My opinion is, that in fact Joinville did dedicate this life to Louis Hutin, who in right of his mother, Jeanne of Champagne, was king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie; that he undertook this work at the request of queen Jeanne and not queen Margaret, and that the expressions by which he seems to signify that the prince to whom he addresses his book was the son and immediate successor to St Louis, are the additions of an ignorant interpolator.

When it is proved that a work has been retouched and altered, we have good reason to maintain that every thing contained in it that is contrary to facts of public notoriety, and of which the true author could not have been ignorant, can be only the work of those who have altered the text, or made additions to it. I say more, that we have grounds for asserting this, when such expressions may be retrenched without the continuity of the discourse suffering from it: now this is precisely the case respecting the dedicatory epistle of Joinville. Let the following words in the dedication be omitted, ‘*filz de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys,*’ we shall then read, ‘*à très noble, très excellent, et très puissant roy Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre,*’ &c. which is perfectly correct. Omit also ‘*son bon espoux,*’ and read only, ‘*aussi qu’ elle favoit bien que très loyalement j’avoie amé et servi ledit seigneur roy St Loys,*’ the sense loses nothing by this omission, and truth gains. I say the same of another passage, ‘*Après ledit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre dit pere,*’ which must absolutely be omitted,

‘ pour ce à vous très excellent et puissant seigneur, qui estes l’ainé fils et hoir, et qui avec succédé au royaume, envoie le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n’appartient de l’avoir ;’ the sense remains the same, the discourse is not interrupted, and every difficulty disappears.

The additions made to this dedication are of the same nature with those I have before noticed in the body of the work : they consist of words, or half phrases, which an ignorant copyist has inserted, thinking he should make his author better understood, and the persons he speaks of more fully known. I cannot but offer one instance in proof of what I advance. Joinville says, ‘ Et par ce dit me remembray-je une fois du bon seigneur roy, pere du roy qui ors est, pour les pompes et bobans d’habillements et cottes brodées que on fait tous les jours maintenant aux armes, et disoit audit roy de present que onques en la voye d’oultremer, où je fus avec son pere et s’armée, je ne vis une seule cote brodee, ne la selle de son dit pere, ne selles d’autrui.’ The king under whom Joinville wrote, ‘ *A roy de present, a roy qui ors est,*’ can be no other than Philippe le bel, as I have before proved, and as Joinville himself says three pages further, ‘ Après ces choses, le bon roy (St Louis) appella messeigneurs, Philippe pere du roy qui or est, et aussi le roy Thibaud ses filz.’ Now Joinville never attended Philippe le hardy, father to Philippe le bel into Palestine ; for this prince took the cross only once, when St Louis went to besiege Tunis ; and Joinville, although he had been invited, excused himself from attending the king on this expedition. The words *de present* are therefore an addition improperly made, serving only to throw confusion over the passage : by suppressing them, we shall perfectly understand what the historian intended to inform us of. He says, respecting the luxury which then predominated in dress and equipage, that he remembered the time of the king, father to the present monarch on the throne, (that is, Philippe le hardy, father to Philippe le bel), and that he had told him, that when he accompanied St Louis, his father, to the holy land, there was not in the whole army a single embroidered coat of arms, not one belonging to that prince. So many instances of alterations in the text are surely more than sufficient to induce me to believe that the same may have happened in every passage where I meet with the same difficulties.

The objection, that the titles given to Louis Hutin in the dedication are so different from those given by Joinville in his letter to him in the year 1315, stands on very feeble ground. An old courtier, admitted to the most intimate familiarity with his master, would have been very cautious of abusing it, by addressing him in a public work, in the same terms which his kindness permitted him to use in private.

It seems more difficult to comprehend how the lord de Joinville, after remaining more than a year in Egypt, should have forgotten that the overflowing of the Nile takes place in June, and not in August, if we had not such glaring proofs of the changes interpolators have made in his history. He had, doubtless, written that the inundations of the Nile began about St Peter's day; and the ignorant copyist, knowing that rivers generally overflow towards the end of September or the beginning of October, had changed the name of St Peter into that of St Remy.

There is an instance of a similar change of name in the passage where one of the lords attendant on St Louis told this prince, that he had been cheated of ten thousand livres, in the payment of the two hundred thousand to the Saracens, for the ransom of the count de Poitiers. The edition of Joinville by Menard attributes this information to Philippe de Montfort; but the confessor to queen Margaret, in the first of the manuscript lives of St Louis, so often quoted, says it was Philippe de Nemours. This author had under his eyes the depositions of Joinville before the commissioners in 1282, and, consequently, it must have been after Joinville he thus wrote it. The copyist, therefore, of the manuscript of Menard must have changed the name of Nemor into Montford; for it is improbable that Joinville should have forgotten the name of him of whom he was speaking, since he had been present when Philippe de Nemours held that conversation with the king, and since he had even contributed to extricate him from the disagreeable situation his imprudence had placed him in. But should we even grant that Joinville's memory had for once failed him in the course of his history, would that be sufficient to have it condemned as a romance? and can it be concluded from this fault, that he is not the author of a work which tradition has constantly attributed to him? and lastly, though it may be added, that Joinville speaks of Turks and Saracens in the recital of the battle of

Maffoura, and in various other places, when the Turks were not established in Egypt during his time; and that then there were no Saracens in the east. The critic must either have been ignorant, or have concealed his knowledge, that the Turks, whose name was well known in the times of Pomponius Mela and Pliny, were spread over all the east in the age of St Louis; and that the army of the sultan of Egypt was filled with mameluke Turks; that the name of Turks, or Turcoples, is often employed by Philippe Mouskes for Saracens; and that our ancient french writers have called for many centuries by the name of Saracens, not only the Mahometans, but likewise all people who were not Christians, and even the pagans of Livonia and Prussia. If this objection had the smallest force, Joinville would not be the sole writer who might be suspected of being supposititious: the two manuscript lives of St Louis in the national library must be considered as romances; for they almost always call the enemies whom that prince had to combat in Egypt by the name of Saracens. In the same rank must be placed the latin life of St Louis written by Geoffroy de Beaulieu, his confessor: we must even consider the bull for his canonization as apocryphal, wherein the Mahometans, against whom he had undertaken the croisade, are never called otherwise than Saraceni. There is no danger that any person of a sound understanding will adopt principles whence such dangerous consequences may follow.

ADDITIONS

TO

THE LIFE OF SAINT LOUIS,

WRITTEN BY

THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

BY M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE.

IN the dissertation which I read last year to the Academy, on the life of St Louis composed by the lord de Joinville, I was not solely occupied in destroying the unfounded suspicions which a celebrated critic had endeavoured to throw on the authenticity of this history; but I also wished to awaken the attention of men of letters, in regard to a piece so interesting to the nation. It was from the same motive that I then made an enumeration of the manuscripts of Joinville known in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, flattering myself that it would not be impossible to recover some of these, if pains were taken in searching the libraries in France, and those of foreign countries.

I had, above all, the greatest hopes of success among the archives of the castle of Joinville, which at present belongs to the duke of Orleans, but I was soon forced to give them up. M. le marquis d'Argenson, who had

been present when I read my foregoing dissertation, had the kindness to write to the person who has the care of these archives, and who seems well versed in the knowledge of ancient deeds. The answer M. d'Argenson received, and which he communicated to me, after having read it to the Academy, was, that after the most exact researches, nothing could be found relative to the manuscript of the life of St Louis; but only many ancient title-deeds of the house of Joinville, which may one day serve to render the genealogy we have of that family more exact and complete.

Nearly at this time, I thought I had discovered in the collections of Messieurs Dupuy, which are in the cabinet of M. le procureur-general du parlement, the title of another manuscript of the life of St Louis, by Joinville, existing in the sixteenth century. In the 488th volume of these collections is the original catalogue of the books found in the castle of Moulins in the Bourbonnois, the 29th September 1523, drawn up by Pierre Antoine, conseiller au grand conseil, and commissioner deputed by the king to put his seal on all the effects belonging to the duke of Bourbon, constable of France. The books thus catalogued were delivered to the king's commissioner by Matthieu Espinette, who had the care of the duke's library, and the catalogue is signed by both.

In running over this catalogue, I found the work of the lord de Joinville pointed out in these terms,—‘*Les Chroniques de Monsieur Saint Loys, roy de France, en papier à la main.*’ The name of Joinville, it is true, is omitted in the catalogue; but it is not the less certain that it is his work alone that it is intended to denote, for of all the lives of St Louis, whether printed or manuscript, that are known to us, that which the lord de Joinville wrote is the only one that has the title of Chronicles of St Louis. But although the manuscript of Moulins augments the number of those that have been known in former times, and although it strengthens the proof I have drawn from existing manuscripts, that Joinville had in truth written the life of St Louis, nevertheless the catalogue wherein it is announced does not afford us any light which may enable us to recover it; for the fate of the library of the dukes of Bourbon at Moulins is equally unknown to us as that of the collection of books which the dukes of Guise had made in their castle of Joinville.

It was reserved for one of the members of the Academy to have the happiness of recovering and making known the only manuscript which perhaps at this day exists of the history of Joinville.

M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, in the course of a journey undertaken from his love of letters, had remembered when passing through Lucca, that another learned man, on his return from Italy, had spoken to him of a manuscript of Joinville which he thought he had seen in the library of the senator Fiorentini. On this information, M. de Sainte Palaye eagerly examined all the manuscripts of this library, and having in fact discovered this manuscript of Joinville, took as many notes of it as his time would allow of, and has had the kindness to communicate them to me.

This manuscript is a small folio on vellum and fairly written, but seems to be only of the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is in several places ornamented with miniatures, one of which represents the king in his bed speaking to the lord de Joinville, who is dictating to a secretary. The others represent the principal actions of the life of St Louis, and are headed with titles somewhat like the following,—‘*Comment le roy fut prins, comment il monta sur mer pour revenir en France,*’ &c. There are likewise in this book escutcheons, the first and fourth quarterings of which are, Lorraine, Bar, Jerusalem, &c. and in the second and third France, with a bend gules, charged with three lioncels argent.

It is certain that these are the arms of the first owner of the book, and the name of this person is not difficult to be discovered; for it was doubtless Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter to Francis de Bourbon, count de Vendôme by Adrienne d’Estouteville, his second wife. This princess was married, the 9th June 1513, to Claude de Lorraine, first duke of Guise. Hence it follows that in the escutcheon of her arms, she was intitled to bear in the first and fourth quarters, Lorraine, in right of her husband, and in the second and third Bourbon-Vendôme, from being of that branch of the royal family.

If my readers will have the goodness to recollect that I said in the first part of this dissertation, that the manuscript of Joinville, which Louis Lasseré had made use of in 1541, had been lent him by Antoinette de Bourbon duchess of Guise, they will be fully convinced it must be the same.

manuscript as that at Lucca. It would be a weak objection to say the writing of this manuscript is but of the sixteenth century; and the language the same as was spoken in France at the beginning of the reign of Francis I.; for we may readily believe that when the duchess of Guise found in the castle of Joinville, which belonged to her husband, an original manuscript of the life of St Louis, she wished to have a copy of it, which would be more easily read, and the meaning of the author better understood. This is the more probable because the book was doubly interesting to the duchess of Guise: on the one hand, it was the life of a king from whom she was descended by the male line; and, on the other, the author of this life was one of the maternal ancestors of the duke her husband.

Although the copyist, whom the duchess of Guise employed, has put the work of Joinville into a more modern style, he has been very far from imitating the other copyists, who have taken the liberty of altering and interpolating the text of those manuscripts from which the editions of Joinville have been taken, which interpolations I have before detailed. By comparing some of the passages which M. de St Palaye has copied from the Lucca manuscript with the editions published by Antoine Pierre and Menard, it is clear that in this manuscript nothing has been visibly added, as in the printed copies; and hence I think I have a right to conclude that the copyist of the Lucca manuscript, seeking only to render his author intelligible, has solely changed the style, and has punctually followed as to the rest what was in the manuscript under his eyes, which ought to make this manuscript still more precious.

One of the principal objections that have been made against the authenticity of the history of St Louis by Joinville, is grounded on the dedicatory epistle addressed to Louis Hutin, as it is found in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, wherein this prince is called ‘*filz de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys.*’ How can it be supposed, say the critics, that the lord de Joinville was ignorant that St Louis was great grandfather to Louis Hutin, and not his father? To solve this difficulty I have maintained, in my answer, that the passage had been interpolated. The Lucca manuscript determines it in my favour; for we only read in that

copy, ‘ A très noble et très puissant roy Loys, fils de roy de France, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie, comte palatin, Jean, sire de Joinville, ses feneschaux de Champagne,’ &c. In all these expressions there is nothing but what is right, nothing but what might have come from the pen of the lord de Joinville.

There was also another objection made, namely, that Joinville, in this same dedication, is represented as saying that he had undertaken at the entreaty of the queen, mother to Louis Hutin, to write the life of Saint Louis *son bon espoux*; for it was farther observed, the queen Margaret, widow to St Louis, was grandmother to Louis Hutin, and died nearly thirty years before this prince mounted the throne: on the other hand, the queen, Jeanne of Navarre, who was the mother of Louis Hutin, could not give to St Louis the title of *son bon espoux*, since she was his grand-daughter by the mother’s side. I had conjectured that the words *son bon espoux* were the addition of some interpolator, and my conjecture is confirmed by the Lucca manuscript.

This is the beginning of the dedication, as M. de St Palaye has copied it from the manuscript, ‘ Chier sire, je vous fais à savoir que madame la roine, vostre mere, ... me pria, que je lui fisse faire un livre des sainctes paroles, et des beaux fais de nostre roy sainct Loys.’

It is immediately after these words that the lord de Joinville adds, according to the same manuscript, that he shall divide his work into two parts, of which he points out the subjects; but in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, this division is reserved to a sort of preface, which follows the dedicatory epistle. This difference may give us some idea of the licentiousness in which the interpolators indulged themselves of altering the text of Joinville, by adding, transposing, or changing whole passages. Hence my readers must not be surprised at the boldness of the conjectures that I have offered on other passages which have been visibly altered in the printed copies.

The conclusion of the dedication in the Lucca manuscript is very different from that in our editions; for whereas we read in the latter,—
‘ Et parce que à vous très excellent et puissant seigneur, qui estes

ainné filz et hoir, et qui avez succédé au royaume après le dit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre pere, envoie le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n'appartient de l'avoir, affin que,' &c. we read, on the contrary, in the manuscript,—‘ Or dis-je à vous sire roy de Navarre, que je promis à madame la royne, vostre mere que je ferois ce livre, et pour ne manquer à remplir ma promesse, l'ay fait ; et pour ce que je ne voi nul qui si bien le doive avoir comme vous qui estes son hoir, je vous envoie le ; pour ce que vous et vostre frere et tous les autres qui l'orront, y puissent prendre de bons exemples, et les exemples mettre en pour que Dieu et nostre dame l'aye en son gré.’

It is not strange that in reading the life of St Louis in the common editions, we should be embarrassed to discover how Joinville could have said to the king, Louis Hutin, that he was the eldest son to St Louis, and had succeeded him on the throne. I had suspected that this phrase was the work of an interpolator, and the Lucca manuscript completely clears away any difficulty that might have remained on this passage.

We see from this manuscript, that the lord de Joinville had said to Louis Hutin, when he was but king of Navarre (that is, during the lifetime of Philippe le bel), that he had promised the queen his mother (Jeanne de Navarre) to write the life of St Louis ; that, although that princess was dead, he had not failed to keep his word, and that seeing no one to whom this work could so legitimately belong as to Louis Hutin, son and heir to queen Jeanne, he had sent it to him that he might profit from the good examples that St Louis had left. This manuscript, therefore, plainly shews the extreme ignorance of the interpolators of the work of Joinville, who have carried it so far as to make Joinville say that Louis Hutin was the immediate heir to St Louis, in a passage which solely relates to the queen of Navarre, and wherein the author says nothing else than that he thinks himself obliged to send the book he had composed by order of this queen to Louis Hutin, her son and heir.

It may be said, that the interpolators have been determined to give to Louis Hutin the title of son to St Louis, in every part where Joinville has occasion to name him. I will mention another instance of this, which had escaped me. The lord de Joinville, after having spoken of the canonization

of St Louis, relates, toward the end of his book, that being one day in his chapel at Joinville, he fancied he saw the holy king with a smiling countenance, and that, having proposed to conduct him to his house of Chevillon, St Louis had answered, ‘ Lord de Joinville, on my faith to you, I will not quit this place so soon, since I am now here.’ Joinville then adds, that for this reason he had caused to be built on the spot a chapel in honour to St Louis. He then continues, ‘ And these things I told to my lord Louis his son, in order that, in fulfilling the will of God and of my lord St Louis, I might possess some portion of the real body of my lord St Louis,’ &c.

It is thus in the two last editions ; but in the Lucca manuscript it is,—
 ‘ And these things did I relate to my lord the king, Louis, who inherits his name ; and I think he will do the will of God and of our holy king, if, through his means, I may obtain some relics of the real body of Saint Louis.’

We may judge from this sample of the exactness of the Lucca manuscript, and of the use it may be of in publishing a new edition of Joinville, free from the interpolations that disfigure all the preceding ones. The grand collection of the french historians now publishing affords a good opportunity of thinking of this new edition ; and I am persuaded that, under a ministry attentive to the progress of letters, the learned editors will not have cause to complain of neglect in furnishing them with materials to enrich their collection with so important a piece of history. They will thereby enjoy an advantage M. du Cange sighed for in vain ; and should it be impossible to acquire the manuscript itself, there certainly would not be any difficulty in obtaining a faithful copy of it, from which may be given a corrected text of the life of St Louis.

My readers may, perhaps, be curious to know how a manuscript of this value could have passed from France to Italy, but M. de St Palaye could not, on this head, give me any information. In my own opinion, I imagine it may have been transported among the furniture and books of Charles de Lorraine, duke of Guise, great-grandson to Antoinette de Bourbon, when, in 1630, this prince being forced to quit the kingdom, fixed his residence at Florence. After his death in 1640, his furniture may have been sold, and the manuscript of Joinville would have had the same fate. It is fortunate for

us, that the frequent changes in private libraries, which have annihilated the greater part of the manuscripts they contained, have not caused the loss of this also. It is to be wished, for the sake of literature, that it may now be securely deposited where nothing could be feared from similar changes.

Before I conclude, I hope to be permitted to make some observations on what I have before said respecting the liberty the copyists and editors have taken to alter the style of Joinville, and on the manuscript life of St Louis, of which I have given so long a detail. Some time before Claude Menard published his second edition of Joinville, the learned had noticed the alterations made in the author's style. Antoine Laval, in his '*Dessins de Professions nobles et politiques*,' thus speaks,—'Et fçay mauvais gré à ceux qui m'ont otée la vraie chronique du sire de Joinville, chambellan de St Louis, et nous l'ont corrigé en nôtre François. Ses vieux termes l'eussent plus autorisé, et nous eussent montré comme on parloit au ce tans là.'

But before Antoine Laval, Pasquier, infinitely more learned than him in french antiquities, had remarked, 'that when there was a good book composed by our ancestors, and it was necessary to transcribe it, the copyists copied it, not according to the simple language of the author, but according to their own.' Pasquier proves this from instances in the romance of the Rose, the chronicle of Ville-hardouin, and the ordinance of Saint Louis before mentioned, which he says he has seen diversified into as many different styles as possible. Thus, therefore, as the alteration of the language cannot authorize any one to treat as supposititious works the ordinance of St Louis, the chronicle of Ville-hardouin, or the romance of the Rose, neither can the life of St Louis by Joinville be considered as a modern romance because the style has been changed.

With regard to the manuscript life of St Louis written by the confessor to queen Margaret, and to her daughter Blanche of France, I have shewn that the pieces on which the author grounded this life were the judicial inquests taken before the commissioners delegated by the pope for the canonization of this holy monarch, and that the lord de Joinville was among the witnesses heard at this inquest; but I forgot to add, that this lord afterward mentioned in his history of St Louis, the depositions he had made long before in the presence of the pope's commissioners. This is

what he says,—‘ Shortly after, there came to Paris, by orders from the holy father at Rome, a prelate who was archbishop of Rouen, accompanied by another bishop, and they proceeded to St Denis in France; at which place they remained a considerable time holding an inquest on the life, acts and miracles of the good king, St Louis. They summoned me to appear before them, and I there staid two days, that they might learn from me all that I knew on the subject. When they had there, and every where else, made sufficient inquiries concerning the good king St Louis, they returned to Rome, and carried the inquest with them.’

The perfect agreement which runs through the history of the lord de Joinville with that written by the confessor to queen Margaret, is a convincing proof of the veracity of the recitals we read in the work of the seneschal of Champagne, and very rarely are so many proofs united to assure to an author a work published under his name.

My last remark is, that M. du Cange, who was unacquainted with this manuscript life of St Louis, has advanced, in his observations on Joinville, first, That the delegates from the pope had employed twelve years to make their inquest on the life and miracles of St Louis; secondly, That this inquest having commenced in the year 1273, the archbishop of Rouen must have been Odon Rigaud, and the second delegate the bishop of Auxerre of the name of Erard. All these conjectures are equally false, for the manuscript life of St Louis tells us that the inquest commenced in the month of May 1282, and that it was terminated in March 1283, not continuing a complete year. We perceive in it also, that the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Auxerre both bore the name of William. The mistakes which happen to so learned a man as M. du Cange ought to make us cautious, not to establish facts on simple conjectures.

HISTORY

OF

SAINT LOUIS, IX. OF THE NAME, KING OF FRANCE.

BY JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, HIGH SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE.

To the most noble, most excellent, and most potent Prince, Louis son to the King Saint Louis, of most renowned and holy memory, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, and Count Palatine of Champagne and Brie, John Lord of Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne, sends health, wishing that, at his prayer, Jesus may anoint him with holy love.

MAY it please you to know, most noble and potent lord, that my late most excellent lady your mother, whose soul may God pardon ! from the great affection she bore me, and from her knowing with how much loyalty and love I had served and attended the deceased king, St Louis, her spouse, in several countries, had most earnestly entreated me, that in honour to God, I would collect and write a small book or treatise of the holy actions and sayings of the above-mentioned king St Louis. This I very humbly promised her to execute to the best of my power ; and because you, my most excellent and potent lord, are his eldest son and heir, and have

fulfilled to the crown and kingdom of our late lord and king, Saint Louis, I send this book to you, not knowing any one living to whom it can more properly belong, in order that you and all others who may read it, or hear it read, may profit by imitating the examples and deeds which it contains, and may God our Father and Creator be worshipped and honoured by it.

PREFACE.

IN the name of the most holy and most sovereign Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I John lord of Joinville, high steward of Champagne, do indite (1), and cause to be formed into a book, the life and most pious acts and sayings of my late lord, Saint Louis king of France, from what I personally saw or heard during the space of six whole years that I was in his company, as well in the holy expedition and pilgrimage beyond sea as since our return thence. This book will be divided into two parts. The first will shew how the above-mentioned king, St Louis, governed himself according to the precepts of God and of our holy mother the church, to the profit and advancement of his kingdom.

The second part will speak of his gallant chivalry and deeds of arms, that the one may follow the other, to enlighten and exalt the understandings of such as shall read or hear it. The contents of both parts will shew plainly that no man of his time, from the beginning of his reign unto the end of it, ever lived a more godly or conscientious life than he did.

It seems, however, to me, that sufficient respect has not been shewn him, inasmuch as he has not been ranked among the martyrs, for the great vexations he suffered on his pilgrimage for the honour of the Cross during the six years that I attended him; for, as our Lord God died for the human race on the cross, so in like manner died the good king, St Louis, at Tunis, with the cross on his breast. Because nothing is to be preferred to the salvation of the soul, I shall begin this first part which speaks of his righteous doctrine and holy conversation, which is food for the soul.

FIRST PART.

THIS holy man, king St Louis, loved and feared God during his life above all things, and, as is very apparent, was in consequence favoured in all his works. As I have before said that our God died for his people, so in like manner did St Louis several times risk his life and incur the greatest dangers for the people of his realm, as shall be touched on hereafter.

The good king, being once dangerously ill at Fontainebleau, said to my lord Louis, his eldest son (II.); ‘ Fair son, I beseech thee to make thyself beloved by the people of thy kingdom; for, in truth, I should like better that a Scotiman (III), fresh from Scotland, or from any other distant and unknown country, should govern the subjects of my realm well and loyally, than that thou shouldest rule them wickedly and reproachfully.’

The holy king loved truth so much, that even to the Saracens and infidels, although they were his enemies, he would never lie, nor break his word in any thing he had promised them, as shall be noticed hereafter. With regard to his food, he was extremely temperate; for I never in my whole life heard him express a wish for any delicacies in eating or drinking, like to many rich men, but he sat and took patiently whatever was set before him.

In his conversation he was remarkably chaste; for I never heard him, at any time, utter an indecent word, nor make use of the devil’s name, which, however, is now very commonly uttered by every one, but which I firmly believe is so far from being agreeable to God, that it is highly displeasing to him.

He mixed his wine with water, by measure, according to the strength of it, and what it would bear. He once asked me, when at Cyprus, why

I did not mix water with my wine. I answered what the physicians and surgeons had told me, that I had a large head and a cold stomach, which would not bear it. But the good king replied, that they had deceived me, and advised me to add water; for that if I did not learn to do so when young, and was to attempt it in the decline of life, the gout, and other disorders, which I might have in my stomach, would greatly increase; or, perhaps, by drinking pure wine, in old age, I should frequently intoxicate myself; and that it was a beastly thing for an honourable man to make himself drunk.

My good lord the king asked me at another time, if I should wish to be honoured in this world, and afterward to gain paradise; to which I answered, that I should wish it were so. 'Then,' replied he, 'be careful never knowingly to do or say any thing disgraceful, that should it become public, you may not have to blush, and be ashamed to say I have done this, or I have said that.' In like manner he told me never to give the lie, or contradict rudely whatever might be said in my presence, unless it should be sinful or disgraceful to suffer it, for oftentimes contradiction causes coarse replies and harsh words, that bring on quarrels, which create bloodshed, and are the means of the deaths of thousands.

He also said, that every one should dress and equip himself according to his rank in life, and his fortune, in order that the prudent and elders of this world may not reproach him, by saying such a one has done too much, and that the youth may not remark, that such a one has done too little, and dishonours his station in society. On this subject, I remember once the good lord king, father to the king now on the throne, speaking of the pomp of dress, and the embroidered coats of arms that are now daily common in the armies. I said to the present king, that when I was in the holy land with his father, and in his army, I never saw one single embroidered coat, or ornamented saddle, in the possession of the king, his father, or of any other lord. He answered, that he had done wrong in embroidering his arms; and that he had some coats that had cost him eight hundred livres parisis. I replied, that he would have acted better if he had given them in charity, and had his dress made of good fendal, (iv) lined and strengthened with his arms, like as the king, his father, had done.

The good king, once calling me to him, said he wanted to talk with me, on account of the quickness of understanding he knew I possessed. In the presence of several, he added,—‘ I have called these two monks, and before them ask you this question respecting God.’ ‘ Seneschal, what is God?’ ‘ Sire,’ replied I, ‘ he is so supremely good, nothing can exceed him.’ ‘ In truth,’ answered the king, ‘ that is well said, for your answer is written in the little book I have in my hand. I will put another question to you, whether you had rather be ‘ *mezeau et ladre*,’ (v) or have committed, or be about to commit, a mortal sin?’ But I, who would not tell a lie, replied, ‘ that I would rather have committed thirty deadly sins than be a leper.’

When the two friars were gone away, he called me to him alone, making me sit at his feet, and said,—‘ How could you dare to make the answer you did to my last question?’ When I replied, ‘ Were I to answer it again, I should repeat the same thing,’ he instantly said,—‘ Ah, foul *mufart*! (vi) *Mufart*, you are deceived; for you must know there can be no leprosy so filthy as deadly sin, and the soul that is guilty of such is like the devil in hell. It is very true,’ he added, ‘ that when the leprous man is dead, he is cured of that disorder; but when the man who has committed a deadly sin dies, he is not assured for certain that he had sufficiently repented of it before his death to induce the goodness of God to pardon him: for which cause, he must have great fears lest this leprosy of sin may endure for a length of time, even so long as God may remain in paradise.’

‘ I therefore entreat of you, first for the love of God, and next for the affection you bear me, that you retain in your heart what I have said, and that you would much rather prefer having your body covered with the most filthy leprosy than suffer your soul to commit a single deadly sin, which is of all things the most infamous.’

He then inquired if I washed the feet of the poor on holy Thursday. On which I said,—‘ Oh, for shame no; and never will I wash the feet of such fellows.’ ‘ This is in truth,’ replied he, ‘ very ill said, for you should never hold in disdain what God did for our instruction; for He who is Lord and Master of the universe, on that same day, holy Thursday, washed the feet of all his apostles, telling them, that he who was their Master had

thus done, that they, in like manner, might do the same to each other. I therefore beg of you, out of love to him first, and then from your regard to me, that you would accustom yourself to do so.'

He loved every one who, with uprightness of heart, feared and loved God; infomuch that from the great reputation he had heard of my brother fir Gilles de Bruyn (vii), who was not a Frenchman, for his fear and love of God, as was the truth, he appointed him constable of France.

In like manner, from the favourable report which he had heard of master Robert de Sorbon (viii) being a courageous and discreet man, he made him one of his personal attendants, and permitted him to partake of his table. One time, as we were sitting near each other, and eating and drinking at the king's table, we conversed together in a low voice (ix), which the good king observing, reprimanded us by saying,—' You act wrong thus to whisper together: speak out, that your companions may not suspect you are talking of them to their disadvantage, and railing at them. When eating in company if you have any things to say that are pleasant and agreeable, say them aloud, that every one may hear them: if not, be silent.'

When the good king was in a cheerful mood, he frequently put questions to me in the presence of master Robert; and once he said,—' Seneschal, now tell me the reason why a discreet man is of more worth than a valiant man?' Upon this, a noisy dispute arose between master Robert and me; and when we had long argued the question, the good king thus gave his judgment,—' Master Robert, I should not only like to have the reputation of a discreet man, but to be so in reality, and your other distinctions you may keep; for discretion is of such value, that the very word fills the mouth. On the contrary,' added the good king, ' it is most wicked to take the goods of others; for the surrendering of them to their rightful owners is so grievous that the pronouncing of it tears the palate, from the number of rrr's that are in the word; which rrr's signify the rents of the devil, who daily draws to him all those who wish to give away the chattels of others they have seized upon (x). The devil does this with much subtilty, for he seduces the usurers and despoilers, and urges them to give their usuries and rapines to the church, in honour of God, which they ought

to restore to the proper owners, who are well known to them.' When thus conversing, he told me to say in his name to king Thibaut his son-in-law (xi), that he must look well to his actions, and not overcharge his soul, thinking to acquit himself by the large sums which he gave, or should leave to the monastery of father-preachers in Provins; for the discreet man, as long as he lives, ought to act like to the faithful executor of a will (xii). First, he ought to restore and make amends for any wrongs or misdeeds done to others by the deceased; and from the residue of the fortune of the dead he should give alms to the poor, in the name of God, as the Scripture plainly sheweth.

The holy king was, one whitfun-holidays, at Corbeil, accompanied by full three hundred knights, and also by master Robert de Sorbon and myself. After dinner the king went into the meadow above the chapel, to speak with the earl of Brittany (xiii), father to the present duke, whose soul may God receive! when master Robert, taking hold of my mantle, in the presence of the king and the noble company, asked my opinion, whether if the king should seat himself in this meadow, and I were to place myself on a bench above him, I should, or should not, be blameable; to which I answered, 'Yes, most certainly.' 'Why then,' added he, 'do not you think yourself blame-worthy for being more richly dressed than the king?' 'Master Robert,' replied I, 'saving the king's honour and yours, I am in this respect blameless; for the dress I wear, such as you see it, was left me by my ancestors, and I have not had it made from my own authority. It is you, on the contrary, that deserve being reprimanded; for you who are descended from bond-men (xiv), on both sides, have quitted the dress of your ancestors, and have clothed yourself in finer camlet (xv) than what the king now wears.'

I then took hold of his furcoat (xvi) and compared it with what the king had on, saying, 'Now see, if I did not tell the truth.' The king, upon this, undertook the defence of master Robert, and to save his honour as much as he could, declared the very great humility he possessed, and how kind he was to every one.

After this conversation, the good king called to him my lord Philip, father to the king now on the throne, and king Thibaut, his son-in-law,

and, seating himself at the door of his oratory, he put his hand on the ground, and said to his sons, 'Seat yourselves here near me, that you may be out of sight.' 'Ah, sir,' replied they, 'excuse us, if you please; for it would not become us to sit so close to you.' The king, then addressing me, said, 'Seneschal, sit down here,' which I did, and so near him that my robe touched his. Having made them sit down by my side, he said, 'You have behaved very ill, being my children, in not instantly obeying what I ordered of you; and take care that this never happen again.' They answered, that they would be cautious it should not.

Then turning towards me, he said, that he had called us to him to confess to me that he had been in the wrong in taking the part of master Robert; 'but,' continued he, 'I did so from seeing him so much confounded, that he had need of my assistance: you must not, however, think or believe that I did it from the conviction of his being in the right; for, as the seneschal said, every one ought to dress himself decently, in order to be more beloved by his wife, and more esteemed by his dependants.' The wise man says, we ought to dress ourselves in such manner that the more observing part of mankind may not think we clothe ourselves too grandly, nor the younger part say we dress too meanly.

You shall now hear a matter of information which the good king made me to understand. When returning from Asia we were driven near to the isle of Cyprus by a wind called Garbun (xvii), which is not one of the principal winds that rule the sea; and our vessel struck with such force on a rock as frightened our sailors, who, in despair, tore their clothes and beards. The good king leaped out of his bed bare-footed, with only a gown on, and ran to throw himself on his knees before the holy sacrament (xviii), like one instantly expecting death. Shortly after, the weather became calm. On the morrow the king called me and said, 'Seneschal, know that God has shewn to us a part of his great power; for one of these trifling winds, which scarcely deserves a name, had almost drowned the king of France, his queen, children and family; and St. Anceaune declares, they are the menaces of our Lord, as if God had said, 'Now see and feel that if I had willed it, you would all have been drowned.' The good king added, 'Lord God, why dost thou menace us? for the threat thou utterest is neither for thy

honour nor profit; and if thou hadst drowned us all, thou wouldst not have been richer nor poorer: thy menaces, therefore, must be intended for our advantage, and not for thine, if we be capable of understanding and knowing them. By these threatenings,' said the holy king, 'we ought to know, that if we have in us the smallest thing displeasing to God, we should instantly drive it from us; and, in like manner, we should diligently perform every thing that we suppose would give him pleasure and satisfaction. If we thus act, our Lord will give us more in this world and in the next than we ourselves can imagine. But should we act otherwise, he will do to us as the master does to his wicked servant; for if the wicked servant will not correct himself, in consequence of the menaces he receives, his master punishes him in his body, and in his goods until death, or farther were it possible. In suchwise will our Lord punish the perverse sinner who shall not be reclaimed by the threats which he hears; and he will be the more heavily stricken in body and goods.'

This holy king, and good man, took infinite pains, as you shall hear, to make me firmly believe the Christian laws which God has given us. He said, we should so punctually believe every article of the faith, that for any thing that may be done against us personally, we ought not to act or say any thing contrary to them. He added, that the enemy of mankind, the devil, is so subtle, that when any persons are near dying, he labours with all his power to make them depart with doubts of the articles of our faith; for he knows well that he cannot deprive a man of the good works which he may have done; and that he loses the soul if the man die in the true belief of the catholic faith. For this reason, every one should be on his guard, and have such a steady belief, that he may say to the enemy when he comes to tempt him, 'Go thy way, thou enemy of mankind: thou shalt never take from me what I so firmly believe, namely, the articles of my religion, I had rather that thou shouldst cut off all the members of my body; for I am determined to live and die in the faith.' Whoever acts thus, conquers the enemy with the staff with which he meant to slay him.

The good king, however, said that faith in God was of such a nature that we ought to believe in it implicitly, and so perfectly as not to depend on hearsay. He then asked me if I knew the name of my father.

I answered, that his name was Simon. And how do you know that? said he. I replied, that I was certain of it, and believed it firmly, because my mother had told it me several times. Then, added he, you ought perfectly to believe the articles of the faith which the apostles of our Lord have testified to you, as you have heard the credo chaunted every Sunday. He told me that a bishop of Paris, whose Christian name was William (xix), informed him that a very learned man in sacred theology once came to converse with, and consult him; and that when he first opened his case he wept most bitterly. The bishop said to him, 'Master, do not thus lament and bewail, for there cannot be any sinner, however enormous, but that God has the power to pardon.' 'Ah,' replied the learned man, 'know, my lord bishop, that I cannot do any thing but weep; for I am much afraid that, in one point, I am an unbeliever, in not being well assured with respect to the holy sacrament that is placed on the altar, according to what the holy church teaches and commands to be believed. This is what my mind cannot receive; and I believe,' added he, 'that it is caused by the temptation of the enemy.'

'Master,' answered the bishop, 'now tell me when the enemy thus tempts you, or leads you into this error, is it pleasing to you?' 'Not at all,' said he; 'on the contrary, it is very disgusting, and displeases me more than I can tell you.'

'Well, I ask you again,' said the bishop, 'if ever you accepted of money or worldly goods, to deny, with your mouth, the holy sacrament on the altar, or the other sacraments of the church?' 'You may be truly assured,' answered the learned man, 'that I have never accepted money, or worldly goods, for such purposes; and that I would rather have my limbs cut off, one by one, while I was alive, than in any way to deny these sacraments.'

The bishop then remonstrated with him on the great merit which he gained in the sufferings of such temptations, and added, 'You know, master, that the king of France is now carrying on a war against the king of England. You know, likewise, that the castle situated nearest to the frontiers of each monarch is la Rochelle, in Poitou; now tell me, if the good king of France was to nominate you governor of the castle of la Rochelle, on the frontiers, and to make me governor of the castle of

Montlehery, which is in the heart of France, to whom would the king, at the end of the war, feel himself most obliged, you or me, for having prevented the loss of his castles?’

‘Certainly, sir,’ replied the learned men, ‘I should suppose it would be me, and for this good reason, that I had well guarded la Rochelle, as being in a more dangerous situation.’ ‘Master,’ answered the bishop, ‘I assure you that my heart is like the castle of Montlehery; for I am perfectly convinced of the truth respecting the holy sacrament displayed on the altar, as well as the other sacraments, without having the most trifling doubt on their subject. I must however tell you, that whatever good-will God the Creator bears me, because I believe his commandments without doubting, he will have double satisfaction in you, for having preserved to him your heart in the midst of perplexity and tribulation; and that for no earthly good, nor for any distress that adversity might bring on your body, you would ever deny or abandon your faith in his religion. It is for this reason, I say, that your state is more pleasing to him than mine; and I am much rejoiced thereat, and entreat that you will keep it in your remembrance, for he will succour you in your distress.’

The learned man, on hearing these words, threw himself on his knees before the bishop, and felt his mind much at ease, and was well contented with the bishop’s comfortable advice.

The holy king related to me (xx) that the Albigeois once came to the count de Montfort, who was guarding that country for the king, and desired he would come and see the body of our Saviour, which had become flesh and blood in the hands of the officiating priest, to their very great astonishment. But the count replied,—‘Ye who have doubts respecting the faith may go thither; but, with regard to me, I implicitly believe every thing respecting the holy sacrament, according to the doctrines of our holy mother church. In return for this faith, I hope to receive a crown greater than the angels, who see the Divinity face to face, which must make them firm in their belief.’

At another time, the holy king told me, that during a great disputation at the monastery of Clugny, between the monks and Jews, an ancient knight happened to be present, who requested the abbot of the monastery

to allow him to say a few words, which with difficulty was granted him. The old knight, raising himself on his crutches, desired the most learned clerk and the first rabbi of the Jews to come near him, which being done, the knight put the following question to the rabbi: ‘Do you believe in the Virgin Mary, who bore our Saviour JESUS CHRIST in her womb, and then in her arms, and that she was a virgin when delivered, and is now the mother of God?’ The Jew replied, that he did not believe one word of all this. The knight said,—‘Very stupidly hast thou answered, and fool-hardy art thou, when, disbelieving all I have asked, thou hast entered the monastery and house of God, for which truly thou shalt now pay;’ and, lifting up his crutch, he smote the Jew such a blow on the ear as felled him to the ground. The other Jews, seeing their rabbi wounded, fled away, and thus ended the disputation between the monks and the Jews.

The abbot advanced to the knight, and said, ‘Sir knight, you have done a foolish thing, in thus striking the Jew;’ but the knight answered,—‘You have committed a much greater folly, in permitting such an assembly, and suffering such a disputation of errors; for here are numbers of very good Christians, who might have gone away unbelievers in consequence of the arguments of the Jews.’

‘I therefore tell you,’ continued the king, ‘that no one, however learned or perfect a theologian he may be, ought to dispute with the Jews; but the layman, whenever he hears the Christian faith contemned, should defend it, not only by words, but with a sharp-edged sword (xxi), with which he should strike the scandalizers and disbelievers, until it enter their bodies as far as the hilt.’

The king’s mode of living was such, that every day he heard prayers chaunted, and a mass of requiem, and then the service of the day, according to what saint it was dedicated to, was sung. It was his custom to repose himself daily on his bed after dinner, when he repeated privately, with one of his chaplains, prayers for the dead, and every evening he heard complines.

One day a good cordelier friar came to the king, at the castle of Hieres, where we had disembarked, and addressed him, saying, that he had read in the Bible, and other good books which spoke of unbelieving princes; but

that he never found a kingdom of believers or unbelievers was ruined but from want of justice being duly administered. ‘Now,’ continued the cordelier, ‘let the king, who I perceive is going to France, take care that he administer strict and legal justice to his people, in order that our Lord may suffer him to enjoy his kingdom, and that it may remain in peace and tranquillity all the days of his life.’

It is said that this discreet cordelier, who thus lessoned the king, is buried at Marfeilles, where our Lord, through him, does many fair miracles.

This cordelier would not remain longer with the king than one day, in spite of all the entreaties that were made him. The good king was not forgetful of what the friar had told him, to govern his realm loyally according to the laws of God, but was anxious that justice should be done to all, according to the manner you shall hear.

It was customary after the lord de Neeles (xxii), the good lord de Soissons (xxiii), myself, and others that were about the king’s person, had heard mass, for us to go and hear the pleadings at the gateway, which is now called the Court of Requests, in the palace at Paris. When the good king was in the morning returned from the church, he sent for us, and inquired how things had passed, and if there were any matters that required his decision. And when we told him that there were some, he sent for the parties, and asked them why they would not be contented with the sentence of his officers, and then instantly made their differences up to their satisfaction, according to the custom of this godly king.

Many times have I seen this holy faint, after having heard mass in the summer, go and amuse himself in the wood of Vincennes; when, seating himself at the foot of an oak, he would make us seat ourselves round about him, and every one who wished to speak with him came thither without ceremony, and without hindrance from any usher or others. He then demanded aloud if there were any who had complaints to make; and when there were some, he said, ‘My friends, be silent, and your causes shall be dispatched one after another (xxiv).’ Then, oftentimes, he called to him the lord Peter de Fontaines (xxv) and the lord Geoffroy de Villette (xxvi), and said to them, ‘Dispatch these causes;’ and whenever he heard any thing that could be amended in the speeches of those who pleaded for others, he

most graciously corrected them himself. I have likewise seen this good king oftentimes come to the garden of Paris dressed in a coat of camlet, a furcoat of tyretaine*, without sleeves, and a mantle of black fendal, and have carpets spread for us to sit round him, and hear and discuss the complaints of his people with the same diligence as in the wood of Vincennes.

I remember all the prelates of France (xxvii) once assembled at Paris, to speak with the good St Louis, and to make him a request; which when he heard, he went to the palace to hear what they had to say. The meeting being full, it was the bishop Guy d'Auseure (xxviii), son to the lord William de Melot, who addressed the king, by the unanimous assent of the other prelates, as follows: 'Sire, know that all these prelates who are here assembled in your presence instruct me to tell you that you are ruining Christendom, and that it is sinking in your hands.'

The king, upon this, crossed himself, and said, 'Bishop, inform me how this happens, and by what cause?' 'Sire,' answered the bishop, 'it is because no notice is taken of excommunicated persons; for at this moment a man would rather die in a state of excommunication than be absolved, and will no way make satisfaction to the church. It is for this reason, sire, that they unanimously call on you, in the name of God, and in conformity to your duty, that you would be pleased to command your bailliffs, provosts, and other administrators of justice, that wherever in your realm they shall find any who have been excommunicated a whole year and a day, they constrain him to be absolved, by the seizure of his goods.'

The holy man replied, that he would most cheerfully order this to be done to every one who should be found unjust towards the church, or towards his parents. The bishop said, it only belonged to them to be acquainted with their own cause of complaint. To this, the good king said, he would not act otherwise, and that it would be blameable before God, and against reason, to force those who had been injured by churchmen to absolve themselves without being heard in their own defence. And he quoted, as an example, the count of Brittany, excommunicated as he was,

* Tyretaine, Tiretaine,—a woollen stuff used in the present times, that took its name from the town of Tyre.—*Gloss. to Capperonier's edition of Joinville.*

having pleaded for seven years against the prelates of Brittany, and at last brought the business before our holy father the pope, who gave judgment against them in favour of the count. ‘ Now, should I have constrained the count to seek absolution instantly after the expiration of the first year, he would have been forced to allow to these prelates their demands whether he would or not, and I should, by so doing, have behaved wickedly towards God and towards the count of Brittany.’

After the prelates had heard this, they were satisfied with the favourable answer the king had made them; and from that time I have never heard that there was further question about it.

The peace which St Louis made with the king of England (xxix) was contrary to the opinion of his whole council, who said to him,—‘ Sire, it seems to us that you are doing wrong to your realm by giving up so much of its territory to the king of England, to which he appears to us not to have any right, since his father lost it by a legal sentence. The king replied, that he knew well the king of England had no right to it; but that, for a good reason, he thought he was bound to give it to him, adding, ‘ We have married two sisters: our children, therefore, are cousins-german; and it is fitting that there should be union among us. It has likewise given me great pleasure to make peace with the king of England, for he is at present my vassal, which was not the case before.’

The uprightness of this good king was very apparent in the case of the lord Reginald de Trie (xxx), who brought to the holy man letters which declared he had given to the heirs of the countess of Boulogne, lately deceased, the county of Dammartin, which letters were disfigured and the seals broken (xxxi). All that remained of the seals were one half of the legs of the king’s effigies and the chancel (xxxii) on which the royal feet were placed.

The king shewed these letters to us who were of his council, to have our advice on the occasion. We were unanimously of opinion that the king was not bounden to put these letters into execution, and that the persons mentioned in them ought not to enjoy that county. The king instantly called to him John Sarrazin (xxxiii) his chamberlain, and asked for the letter which he had commanded him to draw up. When he had

examined it, he looked at the seal, and at the remains of that on the letters of sir Reginald, and then said to us,—‘ My lords, this is the seal I made use of before I went to the holy land, and the remnant on these letters so much resembles the whole seal that I dare not, without sinning against God and reason, retain the county of Dammartin.’ He then called for the lord Reginald de Trie, and said,—‘ My fair sir, I restore to you the county which you demand.’



SECOND PART.

HERE begins the second part of this present book, in which, as I have before said, you shall hear of grand feats of chivalry.

In the name of the all-powerful God, this good king, St Louis, as I have frequently heard say, was born (i) on the feast-day of St Mark the apostle and evangelist. On this day, crosses were carried in processions in several parts of France, and were called The Black Crosses (ii), a sort of superstition among the people, in commemoration of the great multitudes who died as it were crucified in the expeditions of their holy pilgrimages; that is to say, in Egypt and before Carthage. This caused much grief and moaning in this world, and at present there is great joy in paradise among those who died for the faith of God in these devout pilgrimages.

He was crowned (iii) the first Sunday in advent, on which Sunday the mass begins with these words, 'Ad te levavi animam meam,' which is as much as to say, 'Good Lord God, I have raised my heart and soul toward thee: I put my trust in thee.' In these words the good king had great confidence, as respecting himself personally, for the great charge he had just undertaken. He had the fullest trust in God from his infancy to his death; for at the end of his latter days, he called upon God and his saints, and especially on St James and St Genevieve as his intercessors. In return he was protected by God, in regard to his soul, from his earliest years to his death, and also in respect to the good doctrine he received from his mother, who taught him to believe in God, and to love and fear him, in his youth; and

he has, ever since that time, lived a virtuous and holy life. His mother caused him to be attended by religious persons, who preached to him the word of God on Sundays and feast-days. Many times has he related that his mother should frequently say that she would rather he was in his grave, than that he should commit a mortal sin.

It was needful that God should help him in his youth ; for his mother was from Spain, a foreign country, and remained in France without any of her own family, relations or friends. The barons of France thus seeing him an infant, and his mother a foreigner, without any support but from God, made the count of Boulogne, uncle to the king just dead, their leader, and considered him as their lord and master. It happened, therefore, after the coronation of this good king, that, by way of beginning the rebellion, some of these great barons of France required of the queen-dowager, that she would give them lands appertaining to the crown of France ; and because she would not consent, urging, as an excuse, that it was not for her to dismember the kingdom of France contrary to the will of her son, who was now crowned king, these barons assembled at Corbeil. The holy king told me, that when he and his mother were at Montlehery, they dared not go to Paris until the inhabitants came with a large force of men at arms to escort them thither ; and he added, that the whole road from Montlehery to Paris was filled on all sides with men at arms, who besought the Lord that he would grant the king long life and prosperity, and that he would defend him against all his enemies. And this God did in different places, and at different times, as you shall hear in the course of this history.

While the barons were assembled at Corbeil, they practised among themselves, and resolved, with one accord, to raise up the count of Brittany (iv), against the king. They promised him, in order to act more treacherously to the good king, that they would obey the royal summons ; and if the king should send them to make war against the earl of Brittany, they would not bring with them more than two knights each, that the count might the more easily conquer the good king Louis, and his mother, who was a foreigner, as you have before heard.

This plot the barons put into execution, according to the engagement which they had entered into with the count of Brittany ; and I have heard

many say, that the count would have destroyed and subdued the king and his mother, if it had not been for God's assistance, which never failed him. The count Thibaut de Champagne, as it were by divine permission, put himself and his forces in motion, to wait on the good king when he was in such distress and danger. In good truth, he set off with full three hundred knights, perfectly well equipped, and, through God's grace, arrived in good time; for, by this timely reinforcement of the count of Champagne, the count of Brittany was forced to surrender himself to the king, and beg his mercy. The good king had no desire of revenge; and, considering the victory he had obtained was gained through the power and will of God, in sending to him so opportunely the count of Champagne, received the count of Brittany into favour, and thenceforward the king travelled throughout his kingdom in security.

Because incidents frequently happen that deserve mention, I shall at times leave the principal matter of my history to relate them; but, notwithstanding this, you shall hear of some things necessary to be related, for the better understanding the matters I treat of. I will therefore advance with truth.

The good count Henry le Large had, by the countess Mary his wife, who was sister to the king of France, and to Richard king of England, two sons: the elder was called Henry, and the second Thibaut. Henry had put on the cross, and had accompanied king Philip and king Richard to the holy land, where these three besieged the city of Acre, and took it.

Immediately after the capture, king Philip returned to France, for which he was greatly blamed. King Richard remained in Palestine, and performed very great feats of arms against the unbelievers and Saracens. They were so much in dread of him, that, as it is written in the history of this expedition to the holy land, whenever Saracen children cried, their mothers said to them, 'Be quiet, be quiet: here is king Richard (v) coming to fetch you;' and, instantly, through the fear which these Saracen children had of the name of king Richard, they became quiet. In like manner, when the Saracens or Turks were riding in the fields, and their horses started at a bush or shadow, and took fright, they said to their horses, sticking spurs into their sides, 'What, dost think king Richard is there?'

All this clearly proves that he performed grand deeds of arms against them, to make him so much dreaded.

This king Richard gained so great renown by his valour that he gave to count Henry (vi) of Champagne, who, as I have before said, had remained with him, the queen of Jerusalem for his wife. Henry of Champagne had by her two daughters, the elder of whom was queen of Cyprus, and the other was married to sir Ayrart de Brienne (vii), from whom a noble progeny descended, as is apparent in France and in Champagne (viii).

Of the wife of my beforefaid lord, sir Ayrart de Brienne, I will not say more at present, but speak of the queen of Cyprus (ix), because it is right to continue my subject properly, and thus proceed.

After the good king had conquered the count of Brittany, through the aid of count Thibaut de Champagne, the barons of France, indignant against count Thibaut, agreed among themselves to disinherit him, as being a son of the second son of Champagne, and to send for the queen of Cyprus. This, however, did not seem to them to be for their advantage; and for this reason, and because some of the barons foreseeing they could not accomplish their ends, undertook to be mediators of a peace between count Peter of Brittany and count Thibaut of Champagne, the matter was so warmly pushed forward that, for greater solidity of peace, count Thibaut promised to espouse the daughter of count Peter of Brittany (x). A day was fixed on for this ceremony, when the young lady was to be conducted to an abbey belonging to the preaching friars near Château Thierry called Valferre, when the count of Champagne was to marry her. And thus, as I have heard, the count of Brittany set out attended by the barons of France, who were almost all his relations, to conduct the damsel to the monastery of Valferre, and sent to summon the count of Champagne, then at Château Thierry, to come and marry the lady, according to his engagement, which he was well inclined to do. But suddenly there came to him sir Geoffroy de la Chappelle (xi) bringing letters from the king, the contents of which were as follows.

‘ Sir Thibaut de Champagne, I have learnt that you have entered into engagements to marry the daughter of the count Peter of Brittany. I therefore send to require of you, that for the sake of all you love in

France, you do not perform them. The reason of my desiring it is well known to you : I have never found any one more willing to do me evil than the count of Brittany.'

When count Thibaut had read these letters, although he had left Château Thierry, he instantly returned thither.

The count Peter of Brittany and the french barons, in opposition to the king of France, were waiting for the count of Champagne at Valferre; and, perceiving that he had deceived them, in the first burst of their rage against him, they sent for the queen of Cyprus, who shortly afterward joined them.

Immediately on her arrival, they, with one accord, having discussed the matter, sent each of them to collect as many men at arms as they possibly could, and resolved to make an inroad by way of France, into the territories of count Thibaut, even into Champagne and Brie.

They had a good understanding with the duke of Burgundy, who had for his wife the daughter of Robert count de Dreux; and who likewise engaged, on his part, to enter the county of Champagne from Burgundy. A day was appointed for their assembling all together before the city of Troyes, in order to take it; but all this was known to good king Louis, who, in like manner, summoned his men at arms to accompany him to the aid of count Thibaut de Champagne.

The barons, in fact, burnt and pillaged the whole country they marched through, as did their ally the duke of Burgundy. When the count of Champagne thus saw himself and his country attacked on all sides, he burnt and destroyed several of his towns, such as Epernay, Vertus and Sezanne, that his enemies might not find them well furnished with provisions and stores, and turn them against him.

The citizens of Troyes, finding their good master and lord, the count of Champagne, had left their town, instantly sent to Simon lord of Joinville, father to the lord de Joinville of the present day, and whose name is inscribed in the prologue of this book, to desire that he would come to their assistance. That good gentleman did so. His people were immediately informed of the intelligence that had been brought him, and before day they were in the city of Troyes, where, for his part, he performed such wonders in aiding the citizens, that the barons failed to take it.

The barons were forced to march beyond the town, and fix their quarters in the meads with the duke of Burgundy. When the king of France knew where they were lodged, he marched his army strait to combat them; which the barons learning, they sent to entreat that he would withdraw his army, for that they were going to fight the count of Champagne, and the duke of Lorraine (xii) and their forces, with three hundred knights less than were with the count and the duke of Lorraine. But the king replied, that they should no way fight with his vassals without his being personally engaged in their defence. This answer threw the barons into confusion, and, speedily after, they sent again to say, they would cheerfully persuade the queen of Cyprus to offer terms of peace to count Thibaut of Champagne. The king's answer was, that he would not listen to any proposals for peace, nor suffer the count of Champagne to do so, until they should have quitted the county of Champagne.

On hearing this, they instantly marched away, and at one march quartered themselves under Juilli. The king lodged at Ylles, whence he had driven them; and the barons perceiving the king was so closely pursuing them, they decamped from Juilli, and quartered at Langres, which is in the county of Nevers, and attached to their party. Thus did the good king, St Louis, make up the differences between the queen of Cyprus and the count of Champagne, in spite of the enterprise of the barons; and peace was concluded between them (xiii) in such wise, that the count of Champagne gave to the queen of Cyprus, for her rights of succession, two thousand livres of landed annual revenue; and the king paid her, in behalf of the count of Champagne, the sum of forty thousand livres for the reimbursement of her expenses. To repay these forty thousand livres the count of Champagne sold to the king (xiv) the following fiefs and lordships, namely, the fief of the county of Blois; the fief of the county of Chartres; the fief of the county of Sancerre; the fief of the viscounty of Châteaudun. Some said that the king held them only as a security for the repayment, but that is not the truth; for I put the question to the good king in Palestine, and he told me he held them by purchase.

The lands which the count de Champagne gave to the queen of Cyprus were part of the present county of Brienne (xv) and the county of Joigny, because the grandmother of the count de Brienne was daughter to the queen of Cyprus, and wife to the great count, Walter de Brienne. And that you may know whence came the fiefs which the count of Champagne sold to the king, I shall inform you, that the great count Thibaut, who is interred at Laigny, had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Henry, the second Thibaut, and the third Stephen. Henry was afterwards count of Champagne and of Brie, and surnamed Henry the Liberal; for generous and liberal was he toward God and man. Toward God he was apparently liberal (xvi), by his founding the church of St Stephen (xvii) at Troyes, as well as many others, to each of which he daily made great gifts, as is well known throughout Champagne.

Towards man he was equally generous, as is notorious from his conduct to Arthault of Nogent (xviii), and in many other instances, too tedious to relate; but I must mention that of Arthault of Nogent. This Arthault was a citizen in whom, for a time, count Henry had the greatest confidence; and Arthault increased so much in riches that he built the castle of Nogent. Now it chanced that count Henry was desirous of descending from his castle of Troyes to hear mass at St Stephen's church on Whit Sunday: on the lower steps of the entrance to the church, he found a poor knight on his knees, who with a loud voice cried out, 'Sir count, I request of you, in the name of God, that you would give me wherewith to portion my two daughters that are by my side, for I am unable to do it.' Arthault de Nogent, who was behind the count, replied to the knight, 'Sir knight, you do wrong to make such a request to my lord; for he has given away so much, he is no longer able to be generous.'

The count, on hearing this, turned round to Arthault and said 'Sir Vilain, you do not speak truth when you say I have no longer wherewithal to give, for I have you in my disposal, and I give you to him. Here, sir knight, I give this man to you, and warrant him your bondsman.' The poor knight was greatly surprised, and instantly seizing the citizen by his hood, said he would not let him go until he should have ransomed himself handsomely. Arthault was forced to pay a fine of five hundred livres,

The second brother to Henry the liberal was Thibaut count de Blois, and the third Stephen count de Sancerre; but these two brothers held their counties (xix) and lordships under their elder brother Henry the liberal, and after him under his heirs who possessed the county of Champagne, until this count Thibaut sold them to the king, St Louis, as has been mentioned.

Let us now return to our more immediate subject, and say, that shortly after this king Louis held a great and open court at Saumur in Anjou (xx), which I shall speak of, having been present. I can assure you that it was the grandest sight I ever witnessed, the best ornamented and prepared. At the king's table were seated the count de Poitiers (xxi), whom he had knighted on the last St John's day; the count John de Dreux (xxii), whom he had lately knighted; the count de la Marche (xxiii), and the count Peter of Brittany.

At another table, before that of the king on the side where the count de Dreux was seated, the king of Navarre dined. He was most richly dressed in cloth of gold, in coat, mantle, girdle, clasp (xxiv) and cap of fine gold, to whom I was the carver. The count d'Artois (xxv) served the king, St Louis, and his brother, and the count de Soissons cut up the meat. Sir Ymbert de Beljeu (xxvi), who was afterwards constable of France, sir Honourat de Coucy (xxvii), and sir Archibald de Bourbon (xxviii) were the guards of the king's table; and there were behind these three barons, full thirty of their knights in cloth of silk to serve under them. There were likewise behind these knights a great many ushers of arms, and of the apartments who bore the arms of the count de Poitiers worked on fendal.

The king was dressed as magnificently as it was possible, but it would be tedious to enter into the particulars of his habiliments. I have heard several persons declare, that they never before saw at any feast so many furcoats and other dresses of cloth of gold as at this.

After this feast, the king conducted the count of Poitiers to that city, to recover the fiefs and lordships. It happened immediately after the king's arrival there, that the count de la Marche, who had even dined at the king's table at Saumur, secretly assembled a large body of men at arms to wage war against the king, until he should gain his object, and kept himself at Lusignan

near to Poitiers. The good king wished to have been in Paris, but he was forced to remain at Poitiers fifteen days without daring to venture beyond its walls. It was said, that the king and the count of Poitiers had made a disadvantageous peace with the count de la Marche. It was necessary, therefore, for the king, in order to make up matters with the count de la Marche, to hold a parley with him and the dowager queen of England his wife, mother to the monarch on the throne.

It was not long after the king was returned from Poitiers to Paris that the king of England and the count de la Marche united together to make war on good St Louis, and to collect as large a body of men at arms as they could. They assembled in Gascony, before the castle of Taillebourg, which is situated on a dangerous river called the Charente, near which there was only one narrow stone-bridge that could be passed over.

King Louis, on hearing this, marched an army against them towards Taillebourg; and his men no sooner saw the host of the enemy, who had the castle of Taillebourg on their side, than with great peril they hastened to cross the bridge, and others passed over the river in boats, and began to charge the English. Heavy blows were given on each side, which the good king beholding, he with much danger joined them: indeed, the risk was very considerable, for the English were more numerous than the French who had passed the river by one hundred to one.

Notwithstanding this superiority, when the English found that the king of France had crossed the river, they took fright, as it seemed God willed, and made for the city of Saintes, which they entered. It happened in the confusion that several of our men entered that city with them, and were made prisoners.

I have heard from some among them, that during that night there was much discord between the king of England and the count de la Marche in Saintes (xxix), as they were informed; and that the king of England should tell the count that he had sent for him, under promise that he would find great aid in France; and that, perceiving the fallacy of his information, he should return to Gascony, whence he had come. The count de la Marche thus deserted, and knowing that he could not amend himself for the evil he had done, surrendered himself, his wife and children, prisoners to the king,

who gained, on consenting to a peace, many considerable territories from the count (xxx). I know not what quantity ; for I was not present at the treaty, not having then put on the coat of mail (xxxI) ; but I have heard, that with the lands the king acquired, the count de la Marche gave him an acquittance for ten thousand livres parisis, which he was wont to receive from him annually.

Shortly after this, the good king was taken grievously ill at Paris (xxxII) ; and so bad was his state, that I have heard that one of the ladies who nursed him, thinking it was all over, wanted to cover his face with a cloth, but that another lady, on the opposite side of the bed (so God willed it,) would not suffer his face to be covered, or buried as it were, declaring continually that he was alive.

During the conversation of these ladies, our Lord worked upon him and restored to him his speech. The good king desired them to bring him a crucifix, which was done ; and when the good lady, his mother, heard that he had recovered his speech, she was in the utmost possible joy ; but when she came and saw that he had put on the cross (xxxIII) she was panic-struck, and seemed as if she would rather have seen him dead.

In the like manner as the king had put on the cross, so did Robert count d'Artois, Alphonso count of Poitiers, Charles count d'Anjou, who was afterwards king of Sicily, all three brothers to the king ; Hugh duke of Burgundy (xxxIV) ; William earl of Flanders (xxxv) ; his brother, Guion de Flandres, who died shortly after at Compiègne ; the valiant count Hugh de St Pol (xxxvi) ; his nephew, sir Walter (xxxvii), who behaved most gallantly beyond sea, and would have gained great renown had longer life been granted him. The count de la Marche, whom we have lately mentioned, was also of the number ; sir Hugh le Brun and his son (xxxviii) ; the count de Salebruche ; sir Gaubert d'Apremont (xxxix) and his brothers, in whose company, being my cousins, I John de Joinville crossed the sea in a small ship which we hired. We were twenty knights : ten of whom accompanied me, and ten came with my cousins. This event took place after Easter, in the year of grace 1248.

Before my departure, I summoned all my men and vassals of Joinville, who came to me the vigil of Easter-day, which was the birth-day of my

son, John lord of Ancarville, by my first wife, sister to the count of Grand Pré. During that whole week I was occupied in feasts and banquets with my brother de Vaucouleur, and all the rich men (XL) of that part of the country, where, after eating and drinking, we amused ourselves with songs, and led a joyous life. When Friday came, I addressed them thus:—
 ‘Gentlemen, know that I am about to go to the holy land, and it is uncertain whether I may ever return: should there be any of you (XLI), therefore, to whom I have done wrong, and who thinks he has cause for complaint, let him come forward; for I am willing to make him amends, as I am accustomed to do to those who have complained of me or of my people.’

I did this according to the usual manner of my country and my lands; and in order that they might not be awed by my presence while they consulted together, I withdrew, and would only listen to what they might say to me without the restraint of fear. I likewise adopted this measure because I was unwilling to carry with me one single penny wrongfully; and to fulfil any demands that might be made, I had mortgaged (XLII) to friends a great part of my inheritance, so that there did not remain at the utmost more than twelve hundred livres of yearly revenue from my lands; for my lady-mother was still living, who held the best of my estate in dower.

I set out, as I before said, with my nine knights, having three banners; and I have mentioned the things above, because if it had not been for the aid and assistance of God, who never forgot me, I should never have been able to support such a burden as I bore for six years, the time I was on my pilgrimage in the holy land.

When I was on the point of departure, John lord d’Apremont and the count de Salebruche sent to me to inquire if I were willing to join parties, and embark together, for that they were ready to march, and their company consisted of ten knights. I cheerfully assented, and we ordered a vessel to be hired for us at Marseilles, which carried us, our arms and horses.

You must know, that before the king left the realm, he summoned all the barons to Paris, and there made them renew their fealty and homage (XLIII), and swear loyalty to his children, should any unfortunate event happen to

himself during this expedition to the holy land. He summoned me also; but I, who was not his subject (XLIV), would not take the oath: besides, it was not my intention to remain behind.

When I was nearly ready to set out, I sent for the abbot of Cheminon (XLV), who was at that time considered as the most discreet man of all the white monks, to reconcile myself with him. He gave me my scarf and bound it on me, and likewise put the pilgrim's staff in my hand. Instantly after, I quitted the castle of Joinville without ever re-entering it, until my return from beyond sea. I made pilgrimages to all the holy places in the neighbourhood, such as Bliecourt, St Urban, and others near to Joinville, on foot without shoes, and in my shirt. But as I was journeying from Bliecourt to St Urban, I was obliged to pass near to the castle of Joinville, I dared never turn my eyes that way for fear of feeling too great regret, and lest my courage should fail on leaving my two fine children and my fair castle of Joinville, which I loved in my heart. Being suddenly called upon by the count de Salbruche, my brother in arms (XLVI), with our knights and attendants, we went to dine at La Fontaine Archevêque before Dongeux: and there the abbot of St Urban, to whom may God shew mercy! gave to me and my knights very handsome jewels. We then took our leave of him, and went straight to Auxonne, where we embarked with our armour on the Soane for Lyon: our cavalry and war-horses were led along its banks. When we came to Lyon, we embarked on the river Rhône to go to Arles le Blanc. I remember well that on its banks we saw the remains of a castle called La Roche-gluy, which castle the king had caused to be demolished on account of the lord of it, named Roger (XLVII), having a very ill-famed reputation of stopping and plundering all merchants and pilgrims that passed that way.

It was the month of August in this same year (XLVIII) that we embarked at the rock of Marseilles (XLIX), and the ports of the vessel were opened to allow the horses we intended carrying with us to enter (L). When we were all on board, the port was calked and stopped up as close as a large tun of wine, because when the vessel was at sea, the port was under water. Shortly after the captain of the ship cried out to his people on its prow, 'Is your work done? Are we ready?' They replied, 'Yes: in truth, we are.'

When the priests and clerks embarked, the captain made them mount to the castle of the ship, and chaunt psalms in praise of God, that he might be pleased to grant us a prosperous voyage. They all, with a loud voice, sang the beautiful hymn of ‘Veni Creator,’ from the beginning to the end; and while they were singing, the mariners set their sails in the name of God. Instantly after, a breeze of wind filled our sails, and soon made us lose sight of land, so that we only saw sea and sky, and each day we were at a farther distance from the places from which we had set out.

I must say here, that he is a great fool who shall put himself in such dangers, having wronged any one, or having any mortal sins on his conscience; for when he goes to sleep in the evening, he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself under the sea.

I will tell you the first marvel that befel us at sea. It was a great round mountain which we met with, about vespers off Barbary: when we had passed it, we made all the sail we could the whole night, and in the morning we supposed we must have run fifty leagues, or more, but we found ourselves again off this large mountain. We were, of course, much alarmed, and continued to make all the sail we could that day and the following night, but it was all the same, we still had the mountain near at hand. We were more astonished than ever, and thought we ran great risk of our lives; for the sailors told us that the Saracens of Barbary would come and attack us. A very discreet churchman, called the dean of Mauru, came forward and said,—‘Gentlemen, I never remember any distress in my parish, either from too much abundance, or for want of rain or any other plague, but that God and his mother delivered us from it, and caused every thing to happen as it could be wished, when a procession had been made three times with devotion on a Saturday.’ Now this day was a Saturday, and we instantly began a procession round the masts of the ship. I remember well that I was forced to be supported under my arms, because I was at the time very sick. Immediately afterwards we lost sight of this mountain, and arrived at Cyprus the third Saturday after we had made our procession.

We found, on our landing at Cyprus (LI), that the good king, St Louis, was already there, and had laid in provisions in great abundance (LII).

You would have taken his cellars, at a distance, for great houses formed of casks of wine, placed one on the other, which his purveyors had bought two years before, and had left in the open fields. In like manner was the wheat, barley, and other grain in large heaps, which, from their immense size, appeared like mountains; and in truth many would have supposed them such; for the rains which had battered their sides had made the corn grow, so that there was nothing to be seen but green corn. When the army of the king came to remove the grain, in order to its being sent to Egypt, and to take off the crust of green corn, they found the corn underneath as fine and fresh as if it had been just threshed.

The good king was impatient to set sail, so that if it had not been for his barons, and near relations, who prevailed on him to wait the arrival of forces that were daily expected, he would have embarked alone, or with a very small company.

While the king remained in Cyprus (LIII) the great cham of Tartary (LIV) sent him an ambassador, who paid him many fine compliments; among others, the cham of Tartary sent him word that he was ready and at his command to assist him in the conquest of the holy land, and to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens and Pagans. The king received this embassy with kindness, and, in return, sent ambassadors (LV) to the cham of Tartary, who were two years before they returned. The king of France sent likewise to the cham a tent in the form of a chapel: it was of fine scarlet cloth, very rich, and handsomely made, with the intent to see if he could induce the cham and his subjects to embrace our faith and religion; and, as a further inducement, he had embroidered on the inside of the tent the annunciation of the Virgin, mother of God, with other mysteries of our faith. Two black monks, who understood the saracen language, had charge of this tent, and to exhort the Tartars, and shew how they ought to put their belief in God.

The two monks shortly returned, thinking to meet the king at Acre; but he was already in Cæsarea, upon which they went back to France. To say how the other ambassadors, whom the king had sent to the king of Barbary, were received, would be to tell of wonders, as I heard them related

to the king from their own mouths. I have likewise frequently enquired of them concerning their adventures ; but I will not say any thing of them at present, for fear of breaking in upon the principal matter which I had already begun.

You must know that when I quitted France, to join this expedition to the holy land, I did not possess more than twelve hundred livres of yearly revenue, and yet I took charge of nine other knights and three banners. On my arrival at Cyprus I had but twelve score livres in gold and silver, after paying the freight of the ship, so that many of my knights told me they would leave me if I did not better provide myself with money. I was somewhat cast down in courage on hearing this, but had ever my confidence in God ; and when the good king St Louis heard of my distress, he sent for me, and retained me in his service, allowing me, like a kind lord, eight hundred livres tournois. I instantly returned thanks to God, for I had now more money than I had need of.

It is now necessary, that I speak of the state and power of the princes beyond sea, and I shall first begin with the sultan of Connie (LVI). This sultan is the most powerful king of all pagan land, and had a most marvellous work achieved ; for he had melted part of his gold (LVII), and made it into large vessels after the manner of the earthen pots in which wine is preserved in those countries, each of which held about a tun of wine. He afterwards had these pots broken, and the pieces lay in one of his castles, which was open for every one to see and touch these broken masses of gold. It was said that he had six or seven of these large golden pots. His great riches were apparent in a pavilion which the king of Armenia sent to the king of France when he was at Cyprus, for it was estimated at five hundred livres. The king of Armenia sent word, that it had been given to him by one of the ferrals of the sultan of Connie. Now you must know that these ferrals have the care and management of the pavilions of the sultan ; and their employment is to clean every day the apartments of his different palaces.

This king of Armenia (LVIII) was vassal to the sultan of Connie ; and went to the grand cham of Tartary to complain that the sultan had made war upon him, and kept him in vassalage, and at the same time to entreat

he would support and succour him. He consented to become vassal to the cham of Tartary, if he would supply him with a large body of men at arms against the sultan of Connie.

The cham of Tartary was willing to do this, and sent him a considerable force, with which the king of Armenia marched against the sultan, whose army was nearly equal to his; but the Armenians and Tartars defeated the troops of their enemy; and in consequence of this the king of Armenia was no longer vassal nor subject to the sultan. This victory, which he had gained by the assistance of the Tartars, increased his renown so much in Cyprus, that many of our people went to Armenia to seek for profit in these engagements; but of them we had never after any intelligence.

Of the sultan of Babylon (LIX) I shall say, that he imagined the king was about to make war on the sultan of Hamault (LX), his ancient enemy: he was therefore waiting for the king to join his forces against the sultan of Hamault; but when he perceived that the king did not advance, he departed, and went to lay siege to the city of Hamault, in which the sultan resided.

The sultan, thus finding himself besieged, knew not how to act; for he was aware, that if the sultan of Babylon should remain long, he must conquer and overthrow him. He, however, practised so successfully by gifts and promises with one of the varlets of the chamber of the sultan of Babylon that he poisoned his master. The manner of his doing it was as follows. The varlet, who in their language is officially called Serais, knowing that the sultan after playing at chess (LXI) was frequently used to lie down on mats that were at the foot of his bed, poisoned one of these mats; and it chanced that the sultan, having thrown aside part of his dress, lay on the mat with his naked legs, and turning about rubbed a sore he had on one of them against the poisoned part. The venom instantaneously took effect through this sore, and his whole body became so much affected that he lost the use of that side. When the venom was come towards the head, he continued for two days without eating or drinking, and this was the cause that the sultan of Hamault remained in peace, for the sultan of Babylon was obliged to be carried back to his own country by his people.

As soon as the month of March was come, it was proclaimed by orders of the king, that all vessels should be laden and ready to sail whenever the

king should command. All things being ready, the king, the queen, and their households embarked on board their different ships. On the Friday preceding Whitsunday, the king ordered every one to follow him on the morrow, and proceed to Egypt; and on the morrow, being Saturday, every vessel made sail, which was a pleasant sight to see, for it seemed as if the whole sea, as far as the sight could reach, was covered with cloth, from the great quantity of sails that were spread to the wind, there being eighteen hundred vessels great and small.

The king, followed by the other vessels, came on Whitsunday to the point of Lymeſſon (LXII), where he landed, and heard mass: but of full two thousand eight hundred knights, who had embarked to follow the king, there were now only seven hundred with him on shore. A horrible wind that blew from Egypt had made the remainder alter their course, and had separated them from the company of the king, and driven them on the coast of Acre and other strange countries at a great distance, so that the king did not see them again for a long time. He and his companions were much grieved at their loss, for they believed them drowned, or in great danger at least.

On the morrow of Whitsunday, the wind was favourable, and the king and we who were with him made sail, in God's name, to pursue our route. It happened that in our course we met the prince of Morea (LXIII) and the duke of Burgundy (LXIV), who has sojourned in the Morea. The king arrived with his fleet on the Thursday after Whitsuntide at Damietta, where a great company were waiting for us.

On the shore, we saw the whole force of the sultan, who were handsome men to look at. The sultan wore arms of burnished gold of so fine a polish, that when the sun shone on them, he seemed like a sun himself. The tumult and noise they made with their horns and nacaires (LXV) was frightful to hear, and seemed very strange to the French.

The king, perceiving this, called together his barons and counsellors to consult on what should be done. They advised him to wait until the whole of his force should arrive; for he had not now with him a third part, owing, as I before said, to the contrariety of the wind. But the king would not consent, saying, that by such conduct he should encourage the enemy;

and likewise because there was not any port near in those seas whither he might retire, and wait in safety the return of those who had been dispersed by the storm. He added, that a strong gust of wind might arise and separate them from each other in these foreign countries, as had happened to his other knights on Whitsunday last. They acceded, therefore, to his proposal, that on the Friday preceding Trinity Sunday the king should disembark, and combat the Saracens, if it were not their fault. The king ordered the lord John de Belmont (LXVI) to cause a galley to be given to the lord Airart de Brienne (LXVII), with whom I was, to land us and our men at arms, because the large ships could not approach near enough to the shore. Thus was it the will of God that I should quit my ship, and enter a small galley, which I thought I had lost, and wherein were eight of my horses. This galley had been given me by madame de Baruth (LXVIII), cousin-german to the count de Montbelial.

The lord Airart de Brienne and I, fully armed, went to the king on the Friday, to ask for the galley which he had ordered for us; but sir John de Belmont replied, in the presence of the king, that we should not then have it; from which may be known, that the good king had as much trouble in keeping his own people in peace together, as in his ill fortunes and losses.

When our people saw that we were not bringing back the galley, they dropped into the boat with all their weight, and when the sailors perceived the boat was gradually sinking, they retired into the ship, abandoning my knights in the boat. On seeing this, I called out to the captain, and asked how many there were overweight for the boat. He said, too many by eighteen so armed. I then instantly discharged so many from the boat, and put them in the ship with my horses. As I was thus arranging these men at arms, a knight, belonging to the lord Airart de Brienne, named Plouquet, wanting to descend from the ship to the boat as it was pushing off, fell into the sea and was drowned (LXIX).

We then began to sail after the boat of the king's large ship, and made for land; but when those attached to the king, who were hastening to land like ourselves, saw that we made more speed than them, they cried out for us to wait for the arrival of the standard of St Denis (LXX); but I would

not attend to them, and continued advancing towards a large battalion of Saracens and Turks, consisting of six thousand men, at least, on horseback. The moment they saw us on shore they spurred their horses full gallop toward us; but we stuck our spears and shields into the sand with their points against them, which as soon as they perceived, and that we were advancing inland, they suddenly wheeled about and fled.

That discreet man sir Baldwin de Rheims, as soon as I was landed, sent one of his squires to desire I would wait for him. I made answer, by his messenger, that I would cheerfully do so, for that so valiant a man as he was, well deserved waiting for; and he was thankful for this attention as long as he lived. He shortly after joined our company, with a thousand knights at least. You must know that when I first landed I had not any one person with me, neither friend nor servant, of all those I had brought from France. Notwithstanding this, God always assisted me with his grace, for which I ever praise him.

On our left the count de Japhe (LXXI), cousin-german to the count de Montbelial, and of the lineage of the house of Joinville, drew up his men. This count Japhe had disembarked in a most grand manner; for his galley was all painted, within and without, with escutcheons of his arms, which were a cross patée gules on a field or. There were full three hundred sailors on board the galley, each bearing a target of his arms, and on each target was a small flag with his arms likewise, of beaten gold. It was a sight worthy to be viewed when he went to sea on account of the noise which these flags made, as well as the sounds of the drums (LXXII), horns, and faracennacaires, which he had in his galley.

The moment his vessel grounded on the sand, and as near as she could be brought to the land, he himself, his knights, and men at arms, disembarked, well armed at all points, and posted themselves by our side. The count de Japhe instantly ordered his pavilions to be pitched, which when the Saracens saw were about to be done, they again returned, spurring their horses against us; but finding we were not any way intimidated, and that we were firmly waiting for them, they turned their backs and galloped away.

On our right, the galley bearing the standard of St Denis arrived, within a cross-bow shot of us; and it happened, that as she was touching the

ground, a Saracen rode against the crew full speed. I know not why he did so, whether he could not stop his horse, or expected support from his countrymen, but the poor creature was very soon destroyed and cut to pieces.

When the good king St Louis learnt that the standard of St Denis was landed, he quitted his vessel, which was already close to the shore, without waiting until he could disembark from it, and against the will of the legate (LXXIII) who was with him, leaped into the sea, which was up to his shoulders, and advanced to the land, his shield on his neck, his helmet on his head, and lance in hand (LXXIV). On joining his men, he observed the Saracen-army, and asked who they were. On being told they were Turks and Saracens, he wanted to make a course alone against them, but his attendants would not permit it, and made him remain quiet, until his whole army should be assembled and armed.

A messenger called Coullon was sent thrice to the sultan of the Saracens, to inform him of the arrival of the king of France; but no answer was returned, because the sultan was ill. The Saracens, hearing of this, abandoned the city of Damietta, believing their sultan was dead (LXXV). When the king heard this news, he sent one of his knights to Damietta to know the truth of it, who on his return related that the sultan was really dead, and that the Saracens had fled from Damietta, for he had entered their houses that were empty.

Upon this, the king had the legate called, with all the prelates of the army, and ordered the 'Te Deum laudamus' to be sung throughout. The king and his army, shortly after, mounted their horses, and went to take up their quarters in Damietta. The Turks were ill advised to retreat so suddenly without destroying the bridges which they had made of boats, which would have distressed us much. But in another way they did us great mischief by setting fire to all parts of the Soule (LXXVI), where their merchandise and plunder had been deposited, which they burnt for fear we might make any advantage of them. It would be the same thing if fire were set to the petit pont of Paris, which God preserve from such an accident!

Now let us ask ourselves, what grace did not God the Creator shew us in preserving us from death and danger, on our landing, and when we

joyfully advanced to our enemies who were on horseback? What other greater grace did not our good Lord shew us in delivering up Damietta (LXXVII) without any risk of our lives, and which we never could have gained but by starving the garrison? These graces, we may say, were wondrous great, and apparent to every one.

King John (LXXVIII) had indeed taken it by famine in the times of our ancestors: but I doubt if the good Lord God may not say as much of us as he did of the children of Israel, when he had conducted and led them into the land of promise; for which he reproached them, saying, ‘*Et pro nihilo habuerunt terram desiderabilem, et quæ sequuntur.*’ He said this, because they had forgotten him, who had showered down on them so much good. He had saved them, and brought them out of the captivity of Pharaoh, and given them the land of promise. Thus may he say of us who forgot him, as shall hereafter be told.

I shall begin with the person of the king himself, who assembled all the barons and prelates that had accompanied him, and asked their advice what he should do with the riches he had found in Damietta, and how he should divide them? A patriarch who was present (LXXIX) spoke first, and said,—‘Sire, it seems right to me, that you should reserve the wheat, barley, rice, and all other provisions, in order that the city may not suffer famine; and that you should order proclamation to be made throughout the army, that all other goods and furniture should be carried and deposited in the house of the legate, under pain of excommunication.’ This advice was acceded to by the barons and all present, and put in execution.

The furniture that was carried to the legate’s house was found, on valuation, not worth more than six thousand livres. When all had been brought thither, the king and the barons sent to seek for the good and discreet man, sir John de Valeri (LXXX). On his arrival, the king told him what had been done, and that his council had advised that the legate should give him the six thousand livres at which the goods had been valued, which he would carry to his house, in order that he might dispose of them in the manner he should see right, and where he should think them best employed.

‘Sire,’ replied sir John, ‘I most humbly thank you for the honour you do me; but, under your good pleasure, I will not accept your proposal: never, please God, will I alter good and ancient customs, and such as our predecessors have followed in the holy land; for whenever any city, or other considerable booty, was gained from the enemy, the king never received but one-third of all the riches or goods that were found in that city, and the pilgrims had two parts. This was the custom followed by king John, when formerly he took Damietta; and thus, as I have heard my elders say, did the king of Jerufalem act before king John’s time, without failing in any one point. Now, consider if you be willing to give me two parts of the grain and other provisions which you have retained, and most cheerfully will I divide and distribute them among the pilgrims, in honour of God.’

The king did not agree to this advice, and matters remained as before, which made many discontented with the king, because he had broken through good ancient customs.

The king’s officers, when they were at their ease, and comfortably lodged in the city of Damietta, instead of well treating and entertaining the merchants, and those who followed the army with provisions, hired out to them stalls and workmen at as dear a rate as they possibly could. This conduct was spread abroad to distant countries; and those who would have supplied the army with provisions delayed doing so, which was a great evil and loss.

The barons, knights and others, who ought to have attended to their money-concerns, and to have practised economy, as a resource in times of need, began to give sumptuous banquets in rivalry to each other, with the utmost abundance of the most delicious meats. The commonalty likewise gave themselves up to debauchery, and violated both women and girls. Great were the evils in consequence; for it became necessary for the king to wink at the greatest liberties of his officers and men. The good king even told me, that at a stone’s throw round his own pavilion were several brothels (LXXXI), kept by his personal attendants. Other disorders were going forward, and to a greater extent than any person had hitherto seen.

But let us return to our principal object. After we had remained some time in this city of Damietta, the sultan laid siege to it, on the land side, with a numerous army. The king and his men at arms were soon properly

drawn out. In order to prevent the Turks from taking possession of the camp we had on the plain, I went to the king fully armed, whom I found in the same state of preparation, as well as all his knights seated around him on benches (LXXXII), and most humbly requested that he would permit me and my people to make a course against the Saracens. But the moment sir John de Belmont heard me, he cried out with a loud voice, commanding me, in the king's name, not to dare to quit my quarters until I should be so ordered by the king.

You must know that there were with the king eight good and valiant knights, who had several times won the prize of arms, as well on this side of the sea as on the other; and they were usually called the good knights. Among them were sir Geoffroy de Sargines (LXXXIII), sir Mahom de Marly (LXXXIV), sir Philip de Nantuel (LXXXV), and sir Ymbert de Beaujeu, constable of France; but these were not present when I made my request, being on the plain without the city, as well as the master of the cross bows (LXXXVI), with a large body of men at arms to prevent the Turks from approaching our main army. It happened that sir Walter d'Entrache (LXXXVII) having caused himself to be well armed, and his lance and shield to be given to him, mounted his horse; and one of the sides of his pavilion being raised, stuck spurs into his horse, and rode full gallop against the Turks. He thus quitted his pavilion, attended by only one of his people, named Castillon; but his horse flung him to the ground, and ran off, covered with his arms, full speed to the enemy; for the greater part of the Saracens were mounted on mares, which caused the horse to play these tricks and run away. I heard, from those who said they had witnessed it, that while the lord d'Entrache lay on the ground, four Turks came to him, and, as they crossed him backward and forward, gave him heavy blows with their clubs, and would have killed him, if the constable of France had not gone to his succour with a body of the king's troops which were under him. He was led back to his pavilion, but so much bruised by the blows he had received, that he was speechless. He was soon attended by the physicians and surgeons; and because they did not think him in any danger of death they bled him in the arm, from which fatal consequences ensued.

Towards evening, sir Aubert de Nancy desired I would accompany him on a visit to him, for that he was a man of great renown and valour : this I very willingly did, and we went together. On our entering his tent, one of his squires came to us, and desired we would tread softly, lest we might awaken him. We followed this advice, and found him lying on his mantle of minever (LXXXVIII), which covered him, but, on approaching his face, we saw he was dead.

We, and several more, were much grieved at the loss of such a man ; but when it was told the king, he replied, that he did not wish for any one's service who would not attend to him, and obey his orders better than the lord d'Entrache had done ; and that through his own fault he had caused his death.

I must inform you that the sultan gave for every head (LXXXIX) of a Christian that was brought him a besant of gold ; and these Saracen traitors entered our camp during the night, and wherever they found any asleep they cut off their heads. They once surprised the watch (xc) of the lord de Courtenay (xci), and cut off his head, leaving the body lying on a table. They were likewise well informed of the manner of our encampment ; for the engagements between us brought each party near to the other in the evenings ; and the Saracens, in consequence of this knowledge, entered the camp as soon as the guard had made its round, and committed many disorders and murders.

The king, when he heard of this, gave orders for those who were wont to go the rounds on horseback henceforward to do so on foot : by this means the army was in security ; for we were so closely encamped that we touched each other ; and there were no void spaces.

We remained a long time in and before Damietta ; for the king had none in his council who advised him to march further, until his brother, the count de Poitiers (xcii), whom the storms had driven, as before mentioned, to Acre, was returned ; for he had with him the arriere ban of France. From fear that the Turks might force the camp with their cavalry, the king ordered it to be surrounded with deep ditches ; and on their banks there were numerous parties of cross-bows and others, who watched during the nights.

The feast of St Remy had passed without the army receiving any news from the count de Poitiers or his men. This alarmed the king greatly, and the army were in much distress; for they began to fear, from his not coming, that he was either dead, or in very great danger. I then recollected the worthy dean of Mauru, and told the legate how, by means of the three processions which he made us perform when at sea, we were delivered from the great peril we were in, as I have already related. The legate believed what I said, and ordered three processions to be proclaimed throughout the army, to be put into practice the three following Saturdays.

The first procession began at the house of the legate, and proceeded to the church of our Lady in the town of Damietta. This church had been a mosque (xciii) of the Turks and Saracens; but the legate had consecrated it to the honour of the mother of God, the glorious Virgin Mary. Thus was it continued for two Saturdays; and each time the legate preached a sermon. The king and the great lords attended, to whom, after they had heard the sermon, the legate gave absolution. Before the third Saturday the count de Poitiers arrived with his men, and fortunately for him he did not come earlier; for during the space of the two preceding Saturdays there were such continued storms at sea before Damietta, that twelve score vessels, great and small, were wrecked and sunk, and their crews drowned. Had the count de Poitiers arrived at that time he would have run great risk of suffering a similar fate; and I believe it would have been so, if God had not assisted him.

There was much joy in the whole army on the arrival of the count de Poitiers, the king's brother; and shortly after the king assembled his barons and council, and asked them what route he should pursue, whether to Alexandria or to Babylon? The count Peter of Brittany, with several other barons, were of opinion, that the king should march to Alexandria, because there was a good harbour for boats and vessels, to bring provision to the army. But this plan was not approved of by the count d'Artois, who said he would never march to Alexandria until he should have been at Babylon which was the seat of empire in Egypt. He added, among other reasons, that whoever wished to kill a snake, should begin with the head. To this opinion the king assented, and gave up the former plan.

At the beginning of Advent (xciv), the king and his whole army began their march toward Babylon, according to the advice given by the count d'Artois. On the road near to Damietta, we met a branch of the great river; and the king was advised to halt a day, until a dam should be thrown across that the army might pass. This was easily done; and the river was stopped so level that it did not overflow, and might be crossed with facility.

What did the sultan do? He sent craftily to the king five hundred of his best mounted troops, saying they were come to assist him, but in reality to delay him as much as possible. On St Nicholas' day, the king commanded his army to mount their horses, and forbade any of his people to dare to hurt, in any way, one of the Turks or Saracens whom the sultan had sent to him. Now it happened, that when the Saracens perceived the king's army was in motion, and heard that the king had forbidden any one to touch them, they advanced with great courage in a body toward the Templars, who had the van of the army. One of these Turks gave a knight in the first rank so heavy a blow with his battle-axe as felled him under the feet of Sir Reginald de Bicher's horse, who was marshal of the Templars.

The marshal, seeing this, cried out to his men at arms,—‘Now, companions, attack them, in the name of God! for I cannot longer suffer this.’ He instantly stuck spurs into his horse, and charged the Saracens, followed by the whole army. The horses of the Turks were worn down and tired, while ours were fresh and hearty, which caused their misfortune; for I have since heard, that not one escaped being slain or drowned in the sea.

It is proper that I say something here of the river (xcv) which runs through Egypt, and which comes from the terrestrial paradise; for such things should be known to those who are desirous of understanding the subject I am writing on. This river differs from all others, for the more brooks fall into a large river, the more it is divided into small streamlets, and spread over a country; but this river has not such aids, and seems always the same. When arrived in Egypt, it spreads its waters over the country. About the period of St Remy's day, it expands itself into seven branches, and thence

flows over the plains. When the waters are retired, the labourers appear, and till the ground with ploughs without wheels, and then sow wheat, barley, rice, cummin, which succeed so well that it is not possible to have finer crops.

No one can say whence this annual increase of water comes, except from God's mercy. Were it not to happen, Egypt would produce nothing from the very great heat of that country; for it is near to the rising sun, and it scarcely ever rains but at very long intervals.

This river is quite muddy from the crowds of people of that and other countries who, towards evening, come thither to seek water to drink. They put into their vessels which hold it four almonds or four beans, which they shake well; and on the morrow it is wondrous clear and fit to drink. When this river enters Egypt, there are expert persons accustomed to the business, who may be called the fishermen of this stream, and who in the evenings cast their nets into the water, and in the mornings frequently find many spices in them, which they sell in these countries dearly, and by weight; such as cinnamon, ginger, rhubarb, cloves, lignum-aloes, and other good things. It is the report of the country, that they come from the terrestrial paradise, and that the wind blows them down from these fine trees, as it does in our forests the old dry wood. What falls into the river is brought down with it, and collected by merchants, who sell it to us by weight.

I heard in the country of Babylon, that the sultan had frequently attempted to learn whence this river came, by sending experienced persons to follow the course of it. They carried with them a bread called biscuit, for they would not have found any on their route, and on their return reported, that they had followed the course of the river until they came to a large mountain of perpendicular rocks, which it was impossible to climb, and over these rocks fell the river. It seemed to them, that on the top of this mountain were many trees; and they said, they had seen there many strange wild beasts, such as lions, serpents, elephants, and other sorts, which came to gaze at them as they ascended the river. These travellers, not daring to advance further, returned to the sultan.

Now, to pursue my subject, this river, on entering Egypt, spreads its branches over the plain: one of them flows to Damietta, another to

Alexandria, another to Tunis, and another to Rexi. To this branch which runs by Rexi, the king of France marched with his whole army, and encamped between the Damietta branch and that of Rexi (xcvi). We found the fultan encamped with his entire force on the opposite bank of the Rexi branch, to prevent and oppose our passage. It was easy for him to do this, for none of us could have crossed unless we had stripped ourselves naked, as there were no other means to pass.

The king determined to have a causeway made, to enable him to pass over to the Saracens; and to guard those employed on it, he had built two beffrois (xcvii) called Chaf-chateils (xcviii). There were two towers in front of these beffrois, and two houses in their rear, to receive the things the Saracens threw upon their machines, of which they had sixteen that did wonders. The king ordered eighteen machines to be constructed, under the direction of a man named Jouffelin de Courvant, who was the inventor and undertaker; and with these engines did each army play on the other. The king's brother was on guard over the cats in the day-time, and we, other knights, guarded them at night.

These chaf-chateils were finished the week before Christmas, and then the causeway was set about in earnest; but as fast as we advanced, the Saracens destroyed it. They dug, on their side of the river, wide and deep holes in the earth, and as the water recoiled from our causeway it filled these holes with water, and tore away the banks; so that what we had been employed on for three weeks or a month, they ruined in one or two days: they also very much annoyed, by their arrows, our people who were carrying materials for the dam.

The Turks, after the death of their fultan, who died of the disorder he was seized with when before Hamault, chose for their chief a Saracen named Sacedun, son of the Sheik (xcix), whom the emperor Ferrait (c) had made a knight.

Shortly after this Sacedun sent part of his army to cross near Damietta, and to a small town called Sourmesac, which is on the Rexi branch, that from that quarter they might fall on us. On Christmas day, whilst I and all my people were at dinner with my companion, Pierre d'Avalon (ci), the Saracens entered our camp, and slew many of our poor soldiers who had strayed into the fields.

We instantly mounted our horses to attack them; and well timed was it, for my lord Perron, our host, who had quitted the camp on the first alarm; for before we could overtake him, the Saracens had made him prisoner, and were carrying him off with his brother, the lord du Val. We pushed our horses forward, attacked the Saracens, and rescued these two good knights, whom they had already, by their blows, struck to the ground, and brought them back to the camp. The Templars, who were within hearing, formed a bold and determined rear-guard.

The Turks continued to make repeated attacks on us in that quarter with much courage, until our army had closed up the canal toward Damietta, from that branch to the one of Rexi.

This Sacedun, chief of the Turks, was held to be the most able and courageous of all the infidels. He bore on his banners the arms of the emperor who had made him a knight: his banner had several bends (cui), on one of which he bore the same arms with the sultan of Aleppo, and on another bend on the side were the arms of the sultan of Babylon. His name was, as I said before, Sacedun, son of the Sheik, which signifies the same in their language as to say the son of the Old Man. His name had great weight with them; for they are a people, it is said, who pay much honour to such old men as have in their youth been especially careful to preserve their characters from reproach. This chief, as it was told the king by his spies, boasted, that on St Sebastian's day next coming, he would dine in the king's tent.

When the king heard this, he replied, that he would take good care to prevent it. He then drew his army in closer array, orders for which were given to the men at arms; and to the count d'Artois, brother to the king, was given the command of the beffrois and machines. The king, and the count d'Anjou, who was afterwards king of Sicily, took on them the guard of the army, on the side of Babylon; and the count de Poitiers, with me, seneschal of Champagne, had the guard on the side towards Damietta.

Not long after this, the chief of the Turks, before named, crossed with his army into the island that lies between the Rexi and Damietta branches, where our army was encamped, and formed a line of battle, extending from one bank of the river to the other. The count d'Anjou, who was on the

spot, attacked the Turks, and defeated them so completely that they took to flight; and numbers were drowned in each of the branches of the Nile.

A large body, however, kept their ground, whom we dared not attack, on account of their numerous machines, by which they did us great injury with the divers things cast from them. During the attack on the Turks by the count d'Anjou, the count Guy de Ferrois (ciii), who was in his company, galloped through the turkish force, attended by his knights, until they came to another battalion of Saracens, where they performed wonders. But at last he was thrown to the ground with a broken leg, and was led back by two of his knights, supporting him by the arms.

You must know there was much difficulty in withdrawing the count d'Anjou from this attack, wherein he was frequently in the utmost danger, and was ever after greatly honoured for it.

Another large body of Turks made an attack on the count de Poitiers and me; but be assured they were very well received, and served in like manner. It was well for them that they found their way back by which they had come; but they left behind great numbers of slain. We returned safely to our camp without having scarcely lost any of our men.

One night the Turks brought forward an engine, called by them La Perriere, a terrible engine to do mischief, and placed it opposite to the chas-chateils, which sir Walter de Curel and I were guarding by night. From this engine they flung such quantities of greek fire (civ), that it was the most horrible sight ever witnessed. When my companion, the good sir Walter, saw this shower of fire, he cried out,—‘Gentlemen, we are all lost without remedy; for should they set fire to our chas-chateils we must be burnt; and if we quit our post we are for ever dishonoured; from which I conclude, that no one can possibly save us from this peril but God, our benignant Creator, I therefore advise all of you, whenever they throw any of this greek fire, to cast yourselves on your hands and knees, and cry for mercy to our Lord, in whom alone resides all power.’

As soon, therefore, as the Turks threw their fires, we flung ourselves on our hands and knees, as the wise man had advised; and this time they fell between our two cats into a hole in front, which our people had made to extinguish them; and they were instantly put out by a man appointed for

that purpose. This greek fire, in appearance, was like a large tun, and its tail was of the length of a long spear : the noise which it made was like to thunder ; and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air, giving so great a light with its flame, that we saw in our camp as clearly as in broad day. Thrice this night did they throw the fire from la perriere, and four times from cross-bows.

Each time that our good king, St Louis, heard them make these discharges of fire, he cast himself on the ground, and with extended arms and eyes turned to the heavens, cried with a loud voice to our Lord, and shedding heavy tears, said, ‘ Good Lord God JESUS CHRIST, preserve thou me, and all my people ;’ and believe me, his sincere prayers were of great service to us. At every time the fire fell near us, he sent one of his knights to know how we were, and if the fire had hurt us. One of the discharges from the Turks fell beside a chas-chateils, guarded by the men of the lord Courtenay, struck the bank of the river in front, and ran on the ground toward them, burning with flame. One of the knights of this guard instantly came to me, crying out,—‘ Help us, my lord, or we are burnt ; for there is a long train of greek fire, which the Saracens have discharged, that is running strait for our castle.’

We immediately hastened thither, and good need was there ; for as the knight had said, so it was. We extinguished the fire with much labour and difficulty ; for the Saracens, in the mean time, kept up so brisk a shooting from the opposite bank, that we were covered with arrows and bolts (cv).

The count of Anjou, brother to the king, guarded these castles during the day, and annoyed the saracen army with his cross-bows. It was ordered by the king that after the count of Anjou should have finished his daily guard, we, and others of my company, should continue it during the night. We suffered much pain and uneasiness ; for the Turks had already broken and damaged our tandeis (cvi) and defences. Once these turkish traitors advanced their perriere in the day-time, when the count d’Anjou had the guard, and had brought together all their machines, from which they threw greek fires on our dams, over the river, opposite to our tandies and defences, which completely prevented any of the workmen from throwing themselves ;

and our two chas-chateils were in a moment destroyed and burnt. The count d'Anjou was almost mad at seeing this; for they were under his guard, and, like one out of his senses, wanted to throw himself into the fire to extinguish it, whilst I and my knights returned thanks to God; for if they had delayed this attack to the night, we must have all been burnt.

The king, on hearing what had happened, made a request to each of his barons, that they would give him as much of the largest timbers (cvii) from their ships that were on the coast as they could spare, and have them transported to where the army lay; for there was not any timber near fit to make use of. After the king had made this request, they all aided him to the utmost; and before the new chas-chateils were finished, the timber employed was estimated to be worth upwards of ten thousand livres. You may guess from this that many boats were destroyed, and that we were then in the utmost distress.

When the chas-chateils were completed, the king would not have them fixed, or pointed, until the count of Anjou resumed the guard: he then ordered, that they should be placed on the exact spot where the others had been burnt. This he did to recover the honour of his said brother, under whose guard the two others had been destroyed. As the king had ordered, so was it done; which the Saracens observing, they brought thither all their machines, and, coupling them together, shot at our new chas-chateils vigorously. When they perceived that our men were afraid of going from one castle to the other for fear of the showers of stones which they were casting, they advanced the perriere directly opposite to them, and again burnt them with their greek fires. I and my knights returned thanks to God for this second escape. Had they waited until night to make the attack, when the guard would have devolved to us, we must all have been burnt with them.

The king, seeing this, was, as well as his army, much troubled, and he called his barons to council, to consider what should be done; for they now perceived themselves that it would be impossible to throw a causeway over the river to cross to the Turks and Saracens, as our people could not make such advances on their side, but they were more speedily ruined by the Turks on the other.

Sir Humbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, then addressed the king, and said, that a Bedouin had lately come to him to say, that if we would give him five hundred golden besants, he would shew a safe ford, which might easily be crossed on horseback. The king replied, that he most cheerfully granted this, provided he spoke the truth; but the man would on no account shew the ford before the money demanded was paid.

It was determined by the king, that the duke of Burgundy, and the nobles beyond sea his allies, should guard the army from the alarms of the Saracens; whilst he, with his three brothers, the counts of Poitiers, Artois, and Anjou who was afterward king of Sicily, as I have said before, should with their attendants on horseback make trial of the ford the Bedouin was to shew them. The day appointed for this purpose was Shrove Tuesday, which when arrived we all mounted our horses, and, armed at all points, followed the Bedouin to the ford.

On our way thither, some advanced too near the banks of the river, which being soft and slippery, they and their horses fell in and were drowned. The king, seeing it, pointed it out to the rest, that they might be more careful and avoid similar danger. Among those who were drowned was that valiant knight sir John d'Orleans (CVIII), who bore the banner of the army. When we came to the ford, we saw on the opposite bank full three hundred saracen cavalry ready to defend this passage. We entered the river, and our horses found a tolerable ford with firm footing, so that by ascending the stream we found an easy shore, and, through God's mercy, we all crossed over with safety. The Saracens, observing us thus cross, fled away with the utmost dispatch.

Before we set out, the king had ordered that the Templars should form the van, and the count d'Artois, his brother, should command the second division of the army: but the moment the count d'Artois had passed the ford with all his people, and saw the Saracens flying, they stuck spurs into their horses and galloped after them; for which those who formed the van were much angered at the count d'Artois, who could not make any answer on account of sir Foucquault du Melle, who held the bridle of his horse; and sir Foucquault, being deaf, heard nothing the Templars were saying to the count d'Artois, but kept bawling out, 'Forward, forward!'

When the Templars perceived this, they thought they should be dishonoured if they allowed the count d'Artois thus to take the lead, and with one accord they spurred their horses to their fastest speed, pursuing the Saracens, through the town of Maffoura, as far as the plains before Babylon: but on their return the Turks shot at them plenty of arrows, and other artillery, as they repassed through the narrow streets of the town. The count d'Artois, and the lord de Coucy, of the name of Raoul, were there slain (cix), and as many as three hundred other (cx) knights. The Templars lost, as their chief informed me, full fourteen score men at arms and horses. My knights, as well as myself, noticing on our left a large body of Turks, who were arming, instantly charged them; and, when we were advanced into the midst of them, I perceived a sturdy Saracen mounting his horse, which was held by one of his esquires by the bridle, and, while he was putting his hand on the saddle to mount, I gave him such a thrust with my spear, which I pushed as far as I was able, that he fell down dead. The esquire, seeing his lord dead, abandoned master and horse, but, watching my motions, on my return struck me with his lance such a blow between the shoulders as drove me on my horse's neck, and held me there so tightly that I could not draw my sword, which was girthed round me. I was forced to draw another sword which was at the pommel of my saddle, and it was high time; but, when he saw I had my sword in my hand, he withdrew his lance, which I had seized, and ran from me.

It chanced that I and my knights had traversed the army of the Saracens, and saw here and there different parties of them, to the amount of about six thousand, who, abandoning their quarters, had advanced into the plain. On perceiving that we were separated from the main body, they boldly attacked us, and slew sir Hugues de Trichatel, lord d'Esconflans, who bore the banner of our company. They also made prisoner sir Raoul de Wanon, of our company, whom they had struck to the ground. As they were carrying him off, my knights and myself knew him, and instantly hastened, with great courage, to assist him, and deliver him from their hands. In returning from this engagement, the Turks gave me such heavy blows, that my horse not being able to withstand them, fell on his knees, and threw

me to the ground over his head (cxi). I very shortly replaced my shield on my breast, and grasped my spear, during which time the lord Errart d'Esmeray, whose soul may God pardon ! advanced towards me, for he had also been struck down by the enemy ; and we retreated together towards an old ruined house to wait for the king, who was coming, and I found means to recover my horse.

As we were going to this house, a large body of Turks came galloping towards us, but passed on to a party of ours whom they saw hard by : as they passed, they struck me to the ground, with my shield over my neck, and galloped over me, thinking I was dead ; and indeed I was nearly so. When they were gone my companion, sir Errart, came and raised me up ; and we went to the walls of the ruined house. Thither also had retired sir Hugues d'Escoffe, sir Ferreys de Loppei, sir Regnault de Menoncourt, and several others ; and there also the Turks came to attack us, more bravely than ever, on all sides. Some of them entered within the walls, and were a long time fighting with us at spear's length, during which my knights gave me my horse, which they held lest he should run away, and at the same so vigorously defended us against the Turks, that they were greatly praised by several able persons who witnessed their prowess.

Sir Hugues d'Escoffe was desperately hurt by three great wounds in the face and elsewhere. Sir Raoul and sir Ferreys were also badly wounded in their shoulders, so that the blood spouted out just like to a tun of wine when tapped. Sir Errart d'Esmeray was so severely wounded in the face by a sword, the stroke of which cut off his nose, that it hung down over his mouth. In this severe distress, I called to my mind St James, and said,— ‘ Good lord St James succour me, I beseech thee ; and come to my aid in this time of need.’ I had scarcely ended my prayer, when sir Errart said to me,— ‘ Sir, if I did not think you might suppose it was done to abandon you, and save myself, I would go to my lord of Anjou, whom I see on the plain, and beg he would hasten to your help.’ ‘ Sir Errart,’ I replied, ‘ you will do me great honour and pleasure, if you will go and seek succour to save our lives ; for your own also is in great peril ;’ and I said truly, for he died of the wound he had received. All were of my opinion that he

should seek for assistance; and I then quitting hold of the rein of his bridle, he galloped towards the count d'Anjou, to request he would support us in the danger we were in.

There was a great lord with him who wished to detain him, but the good prince would not attend to what he urged, but, spurring his horse, galloped towards us followed by his men. The Saracens, observing them coming, left us, but when on their arrival they saw the Saracens carrying away their prisoner, sir Raoul de Wanon, badly wounded, they hastened to recover him, and brought him back in a most pitiful state.

Shortly after, I saw the king arrive with all his attendants, and with a terrible noise of trumpets, clarions and horns. He halted on an eminence, with his men at arms, for something he had to say; and I assure you I never saw so handsome a man under arms. He was taller than any of his troop by the shoulders; and his helmet, which was gilded, was handsomely placed on his head; and he bore a german sword (CXII) in his hand.

Soon after he had halted, many of his knights were observed intermixed with the Turks: their companions instantly rushed into the battle among them; and you must know, that in this engagement were performed, on both sides, the most gallant deeds that were ever done in this expedition to the holy land; for none made use of the bow (CXIII), cross-bow, or other artillery. But the conflict consisted of blows given to each other by battle-axes, swords, butts of spears, all mixed together. From all I saw, my knights and myself, all wounded as we were, were very impatient to join the battle with the others.

Shortly after one of my esquires, who had once fled from my banner, came to me, and brought me one of my flemish war-horses: I was soon mounted, and rode by the side of the king, whom I found attended by that discreet man, sir John de Valeri. Sir John seeing the king desirous to enter into the midst of the battle, advised him to make for the river side, on the right, in order that in case there should be any danger, he might have support from the duke of Burgundy (CXIV) and his army, which had been left behind to guard the camp; and likewise that his men might be refreshed, and have wherewith to quench their thirst; for the weather was at this moment exceedingly hot.

The king sent orders for his barons, knights, and others of his council, to quit the turkish army, and, on their arrival, demanded their counsel, what was best to be done. Several answered, that the good knight, sir John de Valeri, now by his side, would give him the best advice. Then, according to the former opinion of sir John de Valeri, which many agreed was good, the king turned to the right hand, and advanced toward the river.

As this was doing, sir Humbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, came up, and told the king that his brother, the count d'Artois, was much pressed in a house at Maffoura, where, however, he defended himself gallantly, but that he would need speedy assistance; and entreated the king to go to his aid. The king replied, 'Constable, spur forward, and I will follow you close.' I also, the lord de Joinville, said to the constable, that I would be one of his knights, and follow him in such a case as this.

All of us now galloped strait to Maffoura, and were in the midst of the turkish army, when we were instantly separated from each other by the greater power of the Saracens and Turks. Shortly after, a serjeant at mace of the constable, with whom I was, came to him, and said the king was surrounded by the Turks, and his person in imminent danger. You may suppose our astonishment and fears, for there were between us and where the king was full one thousand or twelve hundred Turks, and we were only six persons in all. I said to the constable, that since it was impossible for us to make our way through such a crowd of Turks, it would be much better to wheel round and get on the other side of them. This we instantly did. There was a deep ditch on the road we took between the Saracens and us; and, had they noticed us, they must have slain us all; but they were solely occupied with the king, and the larger bodies: perhaps also they might have taken us for some of their friends. As we thus gained the river, following its course downward between it and the road, we observed that the king had ascended it, and that the Turks were sending fresh troops after him. Both armies now met on the banks, and the event was miserably unfortunate; for the weaker part of our army thought to cross over to the division of the duke of Burgundy, but that was impossible from their horses being worn down, and the extreme heat of the weather. As we

descended the river, we saw it covered with lances, pikes, shields, men and horses, unable to save themselves from death.

When we perceived the miserable state of our army, I advised the constable to remain on this side of the river, to guard a small bridge that was hard by; 'for if we leave it,' added I, 'the enemy may come and attack the king on this side, and if our men be assailed in two places, they must be discomfited.'

There then we halted; and you may believe me when I say, that the good king performed that day the most gallant deeds that ever I saw in any battle. It was said, that had it not been for his personal exertions, the whole army would have been destroyed; but I believe that the great courage he naturally possessed was that day doubled by the power of God, for he forced himself, wherever he saw his men in any distress, and gave such blows with battle-axe and sword it was wonderful to behold.

The lord de Courtenay and sir John de Salenay one day told me, that at this engagement six Turks caught hold of the bridle of the king's horse, and were leading him away; but this virtuous prince exerted himself with such bravery in fighting the six Turks, that he alone freed himself from them; and that many, seeing how valiantly he defended himself, and the great courage he displayed, took greater courage themselves, and, abandoning the passage they were guarding, hastened to support the king.

After some little time, the count Peter of Brittany came to us who were guarding the small bridge from Massoura, having had a most furious skirmish. He was so badly wounded in the face that the blood came out of his mouth, as if it had been full of water, and he vomited it forth. The count was mounted on a short, thick, but strong horse, and his reins and the pommel of his saddle were cut and destroyed, so that he was forced to hold himself by his two hands round the horse's neck for fear the Turks, who were close behind him, should make him fall off. He did not, however, seem much afraid of them, for he frequently turned round, and gave them many abusive words by way of mockery.

Towards the end of this battle, sir John de Soissons and sir Peter de Nouille, surnamed Cayer, came to us: they had suffered much from the

blows they had received by remaining behind in the last battle. The Turks seeing them began to move to meet them, but observing us who were guarding the bridge, with our faces towards them, suffered them to pass, suspecting that we should have gone to their succour, as we certainly should have done. I addressed the count de Soissons, who was my cousin-german, ‘ Sir, I beg that you will remain here to guard this bridge. You will act right in so doing; for, if you leave it, the Turks whom you see before you will advance to attack us, and the king may thus have his enemies in front and rear at the same moment.’ He asked, if he should stay, would I remain with him? to which I most cheerfully assented.

The constable, hearing our conversation and agreement, told me to defend this bridge, and not on any account to quit it, and that he would go and seek for succour. I was sitting quietly there on my horse, having my cousin sir John de Soissons on my right and sir Peter de Nouille on my left hand, when a Turk, galloping from where the king was, struck sir Peter de Nouille so heavy a blow with his battle-axe on the back as felled him on the neck of his horse, and then crossed the bridge full speed to his own people, imagining that we would abandon our post and follow him, and thus they might gain the bridge. When they perceived that we would on no account quit our post, they crossed the rivulet, and placed themselves between it and the river; on which we marched towards them in such-wise that we were ready to charge them, if they had further advanced.

In our front were two of the king’s heralds: the name of one was Guillaume de Bron, and that of the other John de Gaymaches; against whom the Turks, who, as I have said, had posted themselves between the rivulet and river, led a rabble of peasants of the country, who pelted them with clods of earth and large stones. At last, they brought a villanous Turk, who thrice flung greek fires at them; and by one of them was the tabard of Guillame de Bron set on fire, but he soon threw it off, and good need had he, for if it had set fire to his clothes, he must have been burnt. We were also covered with these showers of stones and arrows which the Turks discharged at the two heralds.

I luckily found near me a gaubison (cxv) of coarse cloth which had belonged to a Saracen, and, turning the slit part inward, I made a sort of shield, which was of much service to me; for I was only wounded by their shots in five places, whereas my horse was hurt in fifteen. Soon after, as God willed it, one of my vassals of Joinville brought me a banner with my arms, and a long knife for war, which I was in want of; and then, when these turkish villains, who were on foot, pressed on the heralds, we made a charge on them, and put them instantly to flight.

Thus when the good count de Soissons and myself were returned to our post on the bridge, after chasing away these peasants, he rallied me, saying, ‘ Seneschal, let us allow this rabble to bawl and bray; and, by the ‘ Cresse Dieu,’ his usual oath, ‘ you and I will talk over this day’s adventures in the chambers of our ladies.’

It happened that towards evening, about sun-set, the constable, sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, brought us the king’s cross-bows that were on foot; and they drew up in one front, while we, horsemen, dismounted under shelter of the cross-bows. The Saracens, observing this, immediately took to flight, and left us in peace. The constable told me that we had behaved well in thus guarding the bridge; and bade me go boldly to the king, and not quit him until he should be dismounted in his pavilion. I went to the king, and at the same moment sir John de Valeri joined, and requested of him, in the name of the lord de Chastillon (cxvi), that the said lord might command the rear-guard, which the king very willingly granted. The king then took the road to return to his pavilion, and raised the helmet from his head, on which I gave him my iron skull-cap, which was much lighter, that he might have more air.

Thus as we were riding together, father Henry, prior of the hospital of Ronnay, who had crossed the river, came to him and kissed his hand, fully armed, and asked if he had heard any news of his brother, the count d’Artois. ‘ Yes,’ replied the king, ‘ I have heard all;’ that is to say, that he knew well he was now in paradise. The prior, thinking to comfort him for the death of his brother, continued, ‘ Sire, no king of France has ever reaped such honour as you have done; for with great intrepidity have you

and your army crossed a dangerous river to combat your enemies ; and have been so very successful, that you have put them to flight, and gained the field, together with their warlike engines, with which they had wonderfully annoyed you, and concluded the affair by taking possession this day of their camp and quarters.'

The good king replied, that God should be adored for all the good he had granted him ; and then heavy tears began to fall down his cheeks, which many great persons noticing, were oppressed with anguish and compassion, on seeing him thus weep, praising the name of God, who had enabled him to gain the victory.

When we arrived at our quarters, we found great numbers of Saracens on foot holding the cords of a tent which some of our servants were erecting, and pulling against them with all their might. The master of the Temple (cxvii), who had the command of the vanguard, and myself, charged this rabble, and made them run away. The tent remained, therefore, with us ; not, however, that there was any great fight, for which reason many boasters were put to shame. I could readily mention their names, but I abstain from doing so because they are deceased ; and we ought not to speak ill of the dead. Of sir Guyon de Malvoisin (cxviii) I am willing to speak, for the constable and I met him on the road, returning from Massoura, bearing himself gallantly, although hard pressed by the Turks, who closely pursued him ; for after they had dispersed the count of Brittany and his battalion, as I have before said, they followed the lord Guyon and his company. He had not suffered much in this engagement, for he and his people had most courageously behaved ; which is not to be wondered at, when, as I have heard from those who knew him and his family, almost all his knights were of his kindred and lineage, and his men at arms his liege vassals. This gave them the greater confidence in their chief.

After we had discomfited the Turks, and driven them out of their quarters, the Bedouins (cxix), who are a powerful people, entered the camp of the Saracens and Turks, and seized and carried off whatever they could find, and all that the Saracens and Turks had left behind them.

I was much surpris'd at this; for the Bedouins are subjects and tributary to the Saracens; but I never heard that they were treated the worse by the Saracens for what they had thus pillaged. They said it was their usual custom to fall on the weakest, which is the nature of dogs; for when there is one dog pursued by another, and a shouting made after him, all the other dogs fall on him.

As my subject requires it, I shall say something concerning these Bedouins, and what sort of people they be. The Bedouins reside in deserts and mountains, and have no great faith in Mahomet, like the Turks, but believe in the religion of Aly (cxx), who, they say, was uncle to Mahomet. They are persuaded that when any one of them dies for the service of his lord, or when attempting any good design, his soul enters a superior body, and is much more comfortable than it was before: this makes them ready to die at the command of their superiors or elders. These Bedouins do not reside in town or city, but always lie in the fields and deserted places, where, whenever the weather is bad, they, their wives and children, make themselves a habitation, by sticking into the ground poles connected by hoops, like to what women use in drying their washed clothes; and over these hoops they throw skins of their large sheep, which they call skins of Somas, tanned with alum. The Bedouins have large pelisses of coarse hair, which cover their whole bodies, and when evening comes, or when it is cold or wet, they wrap themselves up in them, and retire to rest. Those who follow war have their horses feeding near them during the night, and have only to take off their bridles and let them eat. In the morning they spread their pelisses to the sun, and, when dry, rub them, so that they do not appear as if they had been wetted. They never are armed for combat, for they say, and believe, that no one can die but at his appointed hour: they have, likewise, a mode of cursing, alluding to their faith, when they swear at their children, saying, 'Be thou accursed, like him who arms himself for fear of death.' In battle they use only a sword, made after the turkish manner, and are clothed in linen robes like to surplices. They are an ugly race, and hideous to look at; for their hair and beards are long and black. They live on the superabundance of the milk from their herds; and

their numbers are not to be counted ; for they dwell in the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Egypt, and throughout all the lands of the Saracens and infidels, to whom they are tributary.

Now, I am on the subject of the Bedouins, I must say that I have seen, since my return from the holy land, some calling themselves Christians, who hold similar faith with the Bedouins ; for they maintain, that no man can die before his determined time, happen what may, which is a falsehood. I consider such a belief the same as if they should say that God had not the power to assist or hurt us, nor to lengthen or abridge our lives, which is heresy. On the contrary, I declare that we ought to put our whole faith in him who is all-powerful, and may, according to his good pleasure, send us death sooner or later. This is the opposite to the faith of the Bedouins, who firmly believe the day of death to each person is determined infallibly, without any possibility of prolonging or shortening the time.

To return to the original matter, and continue my history. In the evening of this severe engagement that I spoke of, and when we had taken up our quarters in those from whence we had driven the Saracens, my people brought me, from the main army, a tent, which the master of the Templars, who had the command of the van, had given me. I had it pitched on the right of those machines we had won from the enemy, as each of us was eager for repose : indeed we had need of it from the wounds and fatigues we had suffered in the late battle.

Before day-break, however, we were alarmed by the cries of ‘ To arms, to arms ! ’ and I made my chamberlain rise, who lay by my side, to go and see what was the matter. He was not long in returning, much frightened, and crying out,—‘ My lord, up, up instantly ; for the Saracens have entered the camp, both horse and foot, and have already defeated the guard which the king had appointed for our security, and to defend the engines we had won from them.’

These engines were in front of the king’s pavilions, and of us who were near to him. I immediately rose, threw a cuirass on my back, and put my iron skull-cap on my head ; and having roused our people, wounded as we were, we drove the Saracens from the engines which they were so anxious to recover.

The king, seeing that scarcely any of us had armour on, sent sir Walter de Chaftillon (cxxxī), who posted himself between us and the Turks, for the better guard of the engines. After sir Walter had several times repulsed the enemy, who made frequent attempts during the night to carry off these engines, the Saracens, finding they could not succeed, retreated to a large body of their horse, that were drawn up opposite to our lines, to prevent us from surprising their camp, which was in their rear.

Six of the principal Turks dismounted, armed from head to foot, and made themselves a rampart of large stones, as a shelter from our cross-bows, and from thence shot volleys of arrows which often wounded many of our men. When I and my men at arms who had the guard of that quarter saw their stone rampart, we took council together, and resolved that, during the ensuing night, we would destroy this rampart, and bring away the stones.

Now I had a priest called John de Wayfy (cxxxii), who, having overheard our council and resolution, did not wait so long, but set out alone towards the Saracens, with his cuirass on, his cap of iron, and his sword under his arm. When he was near the enemy, who neither thought of nor suspected any one coming against them thus alone, he rushed furiously on, sword in hand, and gave such blows to these six captains that they could not defend themselves, and took to flight, to the great astonishment of the other Turks and Saracens.

When the Turks saw their leaders fly, they stuck spurs into their horses, and charged the priest, who was returning to our army, whence had rallied fifty of our men to oppose them, as they were pursuing him on horseback: the Turks would not meet them, but wheeled off two or three times. It happened, however, that during these wheelings, one of our men threw his dagger (cxxxiii) at a Turk, and hit him between the ribs: he carried off the dagger, but it caused his death. The other Turks, seeing this, were more shy than before, and never dared to approach while our men were carrying away the stones of the rampart. My priest was well known ever after by the whole army, who said when they saw him, 'That is the priest who, single-handed, defeated the Saracens.'

These things happened during the first day of Lent; and this same day the Saracens elected another chief, in the place of their late chief Secedun, of whom mention has been made, and who died in the battle of Shrove Tuesday (cxxxiv); at the same time, probably, that the good count d'Artois, brother to the king St Louis, was slain. This new chief found among the other dead the body of the count d'Artois, who had shewn great intrepidity in this battle, magnificently dressed, becoming a prince; and this chief took the count's coat of armour, and, to give courage to the Turks and Saracens, had it hoisted before them, telling them it was the coat-armour of the king their enemy, who had been slain in battle; adding, 'My lords, this should make you exert yourselves the more, for body without head is nothing, nor is an army without prince or chief to be feared. I advise, and you ought to have confidence in me, that we increase the force of our attacks on them; and on Friday next we must conquer and gain the battle, since they have now lost their commander.' All who heard him cheerfully agreed to follow his advice.

You must know that the king had many spies in the saracen army, who, having overheard their plans, knew their intentions, and how they meant to act. Some of them informed the king of the intended attack of the enemy, and that they believed him dead and the army without a leader.

Upon this, the king summoned all his captains, and commanded them to have their men at arms completely armed, and ready drawn up before their tents at midnight, and then to advance as far as the lines which had been made to prevent the Saracens entering the camp on horseback, although they were so constructed that they might pass them on foot. This was punctually executed according to the king's orders.

You may suppose, that the plan the saracen chief had proposed and adopted he lost no time in putting into execution. On the friday-morning, by sun-rise, four thousand knights, well armed and mounted, were drawn up in battalions, alongside our army, which lay on the banks of the river toward Babylon, and extending as far as a town called Reffil (cxxxv). When the pagan chief had thus drawn up his four thousand knights in front of our army, he then brought another large body of Saracens on foot, and in such numbers that they surrounded all the other side of it. After doing this, he

drew up at a short distance other bodies in conjunction with the power of the sultan of Babylon, to succour and aid each of the two former, as occasion might occur.

The chief of the Saracens, having now completed the arrangement of his army, advanced on horseback alone, to view and make his observations on the manner in which the king's army was formed; and where he saw ours was the strongest or weakest, he strengthened or diminished his own. After this he ordered three thousand Bedouins, whose nature and character I have described, to march in front of the troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy, which were posted between the two branches of the Nile, thinking that part of the king's army might be under the duke, and his own so much the weaker, and that these Bedouins would effectually prevent the duke from affording any support to the king.

All these operations of the infidel chief took him up until about mid-day. This done, he ordered the naquaires and drums to be loudly sounded, according to the mode of the Turks, which is certainly very surprising to those who have not been accustomed to hear them; and then both horse and foot began to be in motion on all sides. I will speak first of the battalion under the count d'Anjou, which received the first attack, being posted the nearest to Babylon. The enemy advanced in a chequered manner, like to a game of chess; for their infantry ran towards our men, and burnt them with greek fires, which they cast from instruments made for that purpose. On the other hand, the turkish cavalry charged them with such rapidity and success, that the battalion of the count d'Anjou was defeated. He himself was on foot among his knights, very uncomfortably situated.

When news was brought to the king of the danger his brother was in, nothing could check his ardour; nor would he wait for any one, but, sticking spurs to his horse, galloped into the midst of the battle, lance in hand, to where his brother was, and gave most deadly blows to the Turks, hastening alway to where he saw the greatest crowd. He suffered many hard blows; and the Saracens covered all his horse's tail and rump with greek fires. You may be assured that at such a time he had God in his heart and mind; and in good truth our Lord in this distress befriended him,

and so far assisted him, that the king rescued his brother, the count d'Anjou, and drove the Turks before him without the lines.

Next to the battalion of the count d'Anjou was that commanded by sir Guy de Guivelins (cxxxvi), and his brother Baldwin, which joined the battalion of that bold and gallant man sir Walter de Chastillon. He had with him numbers of chivalrous knights ; and these two battalions behaved so vigorously against the Turks, that they were neither any way broken nor conquered.

The next battalion, however, fared but badly, under the command of friar William de Sonnac, master of the Temple, who had with him the remnant of the men at arms that had survived the battle of Shrove-Tuesday, which had been so severely murderous. The master of the Temple, having but few men, made of the engines that had been taken from the enemy, a sort of rampart in his front: this, nevertheless, availed him nothing, for the Templars having added to them many planks of fir-wood, the Saracens burnt them with their greek fires ; and seeing there were but few to oppose them, they waited not until they were destroyed, but, vigorously attacking the Templars, defeated them in a very short time. It is certain, that in the rear of the Templars there was about an acre of ground so covered with bolts, darts, arrows, and other weapons, that you could not see the earth beneath them : such showers of these had been discharged against the Templars by the Saracens. The commander of this battalion had lost an eye in the preceding battle of Shrove Tuesday ; and in this he lost the other, and was slain : God have mercy on his soul !

Sir Guy de Malvoisin, a bold and valiant captain of another battalion, was severely wounded in the body ; and the Saracens perceiving his gallant conduct and address, shot greek fire at him incessantly, so that at one time when he was hit by it, his people had much difficulty to extinguish it. But, notwithstanding this, he stood bold and firm, unconquered by the pagans.

From the battalion of sir Guy de Malvoisin, the lines which inclosed our army descended to where I was, within a stone's cast of the river, and passed by the division of the lord William earl of Flanders, which extended to that branch of the river which entered the sea. Our battalion was posted

opposite, and on that bank of the river where sir Guy de Malvoisin was. The Saracens, observing the appearance of the division of the earl of Flanders fronting them, dared not make any attack on us, for which I thanked God, as neither my knights nor myself could put on any armour, on account of the wounds we had received in the engagement of the Tuesday, which rendered it impossible to wear any defensive clothing.

The lord William of Flanders and his battalion did wonders: they gallantly and fiercely attacked the Turks on horseback and on foot, and performed great deeds of arms. Seeing their prowess, I ordered my cross bows to shoot strongly at the Turks, who were on horseback at this engagement; and the moment they felt themselves or horses wounded by the arrows, they instantly took flight, and abandoned their infantry. The earl of Flanders and his division, observing the Turks fly, passed the lines, and charged the pagans, who were on foot, killing great numbers, and bringing off many targets. Among others, sir Gaultier de la Horgne (cxxxvii), who bore the banner of the count d'Aspremont, displayed much courage.

Adjoining this battalion was that of my lord the count de Poitiers, brother to the king, it was composed solely of infantry, and the only person on horseback was the count, which was unfortunate for him; for the Turks defeated this battalion, and made the count prisoner. They would surely have carried him away, had not the butchers, and all the other traffickers, men and women, who supplied the army with provision, hearing that the Turks were carrying off the count de Poitiers, set up a great shout, and rushed on the Saracens with such fury that they rescued the count de Poitiers, and drove the Turks beyond the lines (cxxxviii).

The next battalion to that of the count de Poitiers was the weakest of the whole army, and commanded by sir Jofferant de Brançon (cxxxix), whom my lord de Poitiers had brought with him to Egypt. This division was also formed of dismounted knights, sir Jofferant and his son sir Henry being the only persons on horseback. The Turks broke this battalion on all sides, on which sir Jofferant and his son fell on the rear of the Turks, and cut them down with their swords. They pressed the enemy so much that they frequently turned on them again, leaving the main body of his men. In the end, this would have been fatal; for the Turks must have slain the

whole if sir Henry de Cone, a wise and valiant knight of the division under the duke of Burgundy, well knowing the weakness of the lord de Brançon's battalion, had not, every time he saw the Turks make their charge on it, ordered the king's cross-bows to shoot at them. He exerted himself so effectually that the lord de Brançon escaped from this danger, but lost twelve of the twenty knights whom it was said he had, without counting other men at arms. He himself, however, was the victim of the wounds he received in the service of God, who, we are bound to believe, has well rewarded him for it.

This lord was my uncle, and I heard him on his death-bed say, that he had in his time been in thirty-six battles or warlike skirmishes, and had borne off the prize of arms in most. Of some of them I have a remembrance; for once being in the army of the count de Mascon (cxxx), who was his cousin, he came to me and a brother of mine on a Good Friday, and said to us, 'Come my nephews with all your men, and join us in charging these Germans, who are destroying the monastery of Mascon.'

We were instantly on horseback, and hastened to attack the Germans, whom, with hard blows of sword and lance, we drove from the monastery, where many were killed and wounded. When this was done, the good man fell on his knees before the altar, and cried with a loud voice to our Lord, praying that he would be pleased to have mercy on his soul, that he might die for his service, to the end that he might be entitled to the reward of paradise. I have related this, that you may know, as I firmly believe, that God has granted to him the request he then made.

After this battle was ended, the king summoned all his barons, knights, and other great lords, to whom, when assembled, he thus kindly addressed himself: 'My lords and friends, you have all now witnessed the great grace which God our Creator has of late shewn us, and continues to do so daily, for which we are bounden to return him our thanksgiving. Last Tuesday, which was Shrovetide, we, aided by him, dislodged our enemies from their quarters, of which we have gained the possession. This Friday, which is now passed, we have defended ourselves against them, very many of us being without arms, while they were completely armed on horseback, and on

their own ground.' Many more fair speeches did he make ; and the good king dwelt much upon what had passed, to comfort and give them courage and faith in God.

In pursuing the subject matter of my book it is necessary now and then to make digressions, and to inform you of the manner in which the sultan supported his men at arms, and how his armies were supplied. It is true that the greater part of his chivalry was composed of foreigners, whom the merchants trading by sea had bought when young, and whom the Egyptians purchased by order of their sultan. They came mostly from the east ; for when an eastern king (cxxxix) had defeated in battle another neighbouring monarch, the victor, and his people, seized the subjects of the vanquished, whom they sold to merchants, who bought them, as I have said, to sell again in Egypt. The children born from these captives the sultan supported and educated, and when their beards appeared they were taught to draw the bow, by way of amusement ; and when he was in a jocund mood they displayed their skill before him.

As they increased in strength, their small bows were exchanged for others of greater weight, and proportioned to their powers. These youths bore the arms of the sultan, and were called his Bahairiz*. When their beards were grown, the sultan made them knights ; and their emblazonments were like his, of pure gold, save that to distinguish them, they added bars of vermilion, with roses, birds, griffins, or any other difference as they pleased.

* Bahairiz.—This word comes from Bähr, which the Arabians use to express the sea, or any great collection of water. The name of Bahairiz was first given to a thousand youths, whom Melik-Ussali had bought of the Tartars who ravaged the Turquestan, and whom he had educated in all military exercises in a castle, built by his orders, opposite to Cairo, on an island of the Nile called Revdhah. This fort was called Bahrieh, or the Maritime Fortrefs, on account of the Nile surrounding it. It was in this castle that Melik-Ussali, who had not forgotten the cowardly conduct of his troops at the siege of Napoulous, fixed his residence. He gave his whole confidence to these Bahairiz, loaded them with favours, and named from among them the governors of provinces, the commanders of his armies, and the first officers of the state. The remainder were reserved for the guard of his new palace, and to attend on him wherever he went, during peace or war. It is this body of troops the lord de Joinville means under the name of La Hauleca.

Gloss. to Louvre edit. voc. Bahari.

They were called the band of La Hauleca (cxxxii), which signifies the archers of the king's guard; and were always about the person of the fultan to defend him. When the fultan went to war they were quartered near him, as his body-guard.

He had, beside these, other guards still nearer to his person, such as porters and minstrels, who played upon their instruments from the break of day until the fultan rose; and in the evenings founded the retreat. Their instruments made so loud a noise, that those who were near them could not hear each other speak; and their notes were distinctly heard throughout the army. During the day-time, they dared on no account play on them, without express orders from the commander of the hauleca.

When the fultan wanted any thing, or wished to give orders to his men at arms, he mentioned it to the above commander, who ordered the minstrels to sound their faracen horns, drums and naquaires; and to this sound the whole of the chiefs drew up before their fultan's tent, to whom the commander of la hauleca told the good pleasure of the fultan, which they instantly obeyed to the utmost of their power. Whenever the fultan went personally to war, he nominated from such of the knights of la hauleca as shewed the most courage and abilities admiral (cxxxiii), or captain over the men at arms, and according as they rose in merit the more the fultan gave them, by which means every one of them tried who should surpass the other to the utmost.

The manner of the fultan's acting towards them was, that whenever any one of the knights of the hauleca had, by his prowess and chivalry, gained a sufficiency (cxxxiv), so that he was no longer in want, and could live independent, the fultan, for fear he should dethrone or kill him, had him arrested and thrown into prison, where he was secretly put to death, and then he took possession of all the fortune his wife or children might have had left to them. An example of this happened while I was in that country; for the Sultan had imprisoned those who, by their valour and address, had made prisoners of the counts of Montfort and of Bar (cxxxv); and from envy and jealousy, and from his dread of them had them put to death. He acted in like manner to the Boudendars, who are his subjects; for when they had defeated the king of Armenia (cxxxvi), and came to inform

him of the event, they found him hunting wild beasts. Having dismounted to make their obeisance, and thinking, as they had behaved so well, they should be recompensed, he eyed them maliciously, and said he should not return their salute, for they had made him lose his chase; and ordered their heads to be struck off.

To return to our subject. The sultan lately deceased had left a son (cxxxvii), who was twenty-five years old, well informed, prudent, and already full of malice. The last sultan, fearing he might dethrone him, kept him at a distance from his person, and had given him a kingdom in the east; but the moment his father was dead, the admirals of Babylon sent for him, and made him their sultan. On taking possession of his dignity he deprived the constable, marshals, and seneschals of his father, of their golden wands (cxxxviii), and the offices which they held, and gave them to those whom he had brought with him from the east.

This caused great discontent in those who had been removed, as also in those of the council of his late father, who suspected strongly that he would act by them, after seizing their wealth in the same manner as the sultan had done by those who had taken the counts of Montfort and of Bar, as already related. They, therefore, unanimously agreed to put him to death, and found means of obtaining from those called *la hauleca*, who were the sultan's guard, a promise to murder him.

After the two battles I have mentioned, which were marvellously sharp and severe, the one on Shrove Tuesday (cxxxix), and the other the first Friday in Lent, another great misfortune befel our army. At the end of eight or ten days, the bodies of those who had been slain in these two engagements, and thrown into the Nile, rose to the top of the water. It was said, this always happens when the gall is burst and rotten. These bodies floated down the river until they came to the small bridge that communicated with each part of our army; and the arch was so low it almost touched the water, and prevented the bodies passing underneath. The river was covered with them from bank to bank, so that the water could not be seen a good stone's throw from the bridge upward.

The king hired one hundred labourers, who were full eight days in separating the bodies of the Christians from the Saracens, which were easily

distinguishable: the saracen bodies they thrust under the bridge by main force, and floated them down to the sea; but the Christians were buried in deep graves, one over the other. God knows how great was the stench, and what misery it was to see the bodies of such noble and worthy persons lying so exposed. I witnessed the chamberlain of the late count d'Artois seeking the body of his master, and many more hunting after the bodies of their friends: but I never heard that any who were thus seeking their friends amidst such an infectious smell ever recovered their healths. You must know, that we eat no fish the whole Lent but eelpouts, which is a gluttonous fish, and feeds on dead bodies. From this cause, and from the bad air of the country, where it scarcely ever rains a drop, the whole army was infected by a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh on our legs (CXL) to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer. In addition to this miserable disorder, those affected by it had another sore complaint in the mouth, from eating such fish, that rotted the gums, and caused a most stinking breath. Very few escaped death, that were thus attacked; and the surest symptom of its being fatal was a bleeding at the nose, for when that took place none ever recovered.

The better to cure us, the Turks, who knew our situation, fifteen days afterward attempted to starve us, by means I shall now tell you. These villanous Turks had drawn their galleys overland, and launched them again below our army, so that those who had gone to Damietta for provision never returned, to the great astonishment of us all. We could not imagine the reason of this, until one of the galleys of the earl of Flanders, having forced a passage, informed us how the sultan had launched his vessels, by drawing them overland, below us, so that the Turks watched all galleys going toward Damietta, and had already captured fourscore of ours, and killed their crews.

By this means, all provision was exceedingly dear in the army; and when Easter arrived, a beef was sold for eighty livres, a sheep for thirty livres, a hog for thirty livres, a muid of wine for ten livres, an egg for sixpence, and every thing else in proportion.

When the king and his barons saw this, and that there was not any remedy for it, they advised the king to march the army from near Babylon, and join that of the duke of Burgundy, which was on the other bank of the river that flowed to Damietta. For the security of his retreat, the king had erected a barbican in front of the small bridge I have so often mentioned; and it was constructed in suchwise that it might be entered on each side on horseback. As soon as this barbican was finished, the whole host armed; for the Turks made a vigorous attack, observing our intentions to join the duke of Burgundy's army on the opposite side of the river.

During the time we were entering the barbican, the enemy fell on the rear of our army, and took prisoner sir Errart de Valeri; but he was soon rescued by his brother, sir John de Valeri. The king, however, and his division never moved until the baggage and arms had crossed the river; and then we all passed after the king, except sir Gaultier de Chastillon, who commanded the rear-guard in the barbican.

When the whole army had passed, this rear-guard was much distressed by the turkish cavalry; for from their horses they could shoot point blank, as the barbican was low. The Turks on foot threw large stones and clods of earth in their faces, without the guard being able to defend themselves. They would infallibly have been destroyed, if the count d'Anjou, brother to the king, and afterwards king of Sicily, had not boldly gone to their rescue, and brought them off in safety.

The day preceding Shrovetide I saw a thing which I must relate. On the vigil of that day died a very valiant and prudent knight, sir Hugh de Landricourt (CXLII), one under my banner; and during his burial six of my knights talked so loud they disturbed the priest as he was saying mass: on this I arose, and bade them be silent; for it was unbecoming gentlemen thus to talk whilst the mass was celebrating. But they burst into laughter, and told me they were talking of marrying the widow of sir Hugh, now in his bier. I rebuked them sharply, and said, such conversation was indecent and improper, for that they had too soon forgotten their companion.

Now it happened on the morrow, when the first grand battle took place, although we may laugh at their follies, God took such vengeance on them,

that of all the six not one escaped death, and remained unburied. The wives of the whole six re-married. This makes it credible, that God leaves no such conduct unpunished. With regard to myself I fared little better, for I was grievously wounded in the battle of Shrove Tuesday. I had, besides, the disorder in my legs and mouth, before spoken of, and such a rheum in my head it ran through my mouth and nostrils. In addition, I had a double fever, called a quartan, from which God defend us! and with these illnesses was I confined to my tent the half of Lent.

My poor priest was likewise as ill as myself; and one day when he was singing mass before me as I lay in bed, at the moment of the elevation of the host, I saw him so exceedingly weak that he was near fainting; but when I perceived he was on the point of falling to the ground, I flung myself out of bed, sick as I was, and, taking my coat, embraced him, and bade him be at his ease, and take courage from him whom he held in his hands. He recovered some little; but I never quitted him until he had finished the mass, which he completed, and this was the last, for he never after celebrated another, but died. God receive his soul!

To return to our history. It is true there were some parleys between the councils of the king and of the sultan, respecting a peace; and a day was appointed for the further discussion of it. The basis of the treaty was agreed on (CXLII), namely, that the king should restore to the sultan, Damietta, and the sultan should surrender to the king the realm of Jerusalem. He was also to take proper care of the sick in Damietta, and to give up the salted provision that was there, for neither Turk nor Saracen eat of it, and likewise the engines of war: but the king was to send for all these things from Damietta.

The end of this was, that the sultan demanded what security the king would give him for the surrender of Damietta: and it was proposed that he should detain as prisoner one of the king's brothers, either the count de Poitiers or the count d'Anjou, until it were effected. But the Turks refused to accept of any other hostage than the person of the king.

To this the gallant knight, sir Geoffry de Sergines, replied, that the Turks should never have the king's person; and that he would rather they

should all be slain than it should be said, they had given their king in pawn; and thus matters remained.

The disorder I spoke of very soon increased so much in the army that the barbers were forced to cut away very large pieces of flesh from the gums, to enable their patients to eat. It was pitiful to hear the cries and groans of those on whom this operation was performing: they seemed like to the cries of women in labour, and I cannot express the great concern all felt who heard them.

The good king St Louis, witnessing the miserable condition of great part of his army, raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, blessing our Lord for all he had given him, and seeing that he could not longer remain where he was, without perishing himself as well as his army, gave orders to march on the tuesday evening after the octave of Easter, and return to Damietta. He issued his commands to the masters of the galleys to have them ready to receive on board the sick, and convey them to Damietta. He likewise gave his orders to Joffelin de Corvant, and to other engineers, to cut the cords which held the bridges between us and the Saracens; but they neglected them, which was the cause of much evil befalling us.

Perceiving that every one was preparing to go to Damietta, I withdrew to my vessel, with two of my knights, all that I had remaining of those that had accompanied me, and the rest of my household. Towards evening, when it began to grow dark, I ordered my captain to raise the anchor, that we might float down the stream; but he replied, that he dared not obey me, for that between us and Damietta were the large galleys of the sultan, which would infallibly capture us.

The king's seamen had made great fires on board their galleys, to cherish the unfortunate sick; and many others in the same state were waiting on the banks of the river for vessels to take them on board. As I was advising my sailors to make some little way, I saw, by the light of the fires, the Saracens enter our camp, and murder these sick that were waiting on the banks of the Nile: and as my men were raising the anchor, and we began to move downward, the sailors who were to take the sick on board advanced with their boats; but, seeing the Saracens in the act of killing them, they

retreated to their large gallies, cut their cables, and fell down on my small bark.

I expected every moment they would have funk me; but we escaped this imminent danger, and made some way down the river. The king had the same illness as the rest of his army, with a dysentery (CXLIII), which, had he pleased, he might have prevented, by living on board his larger vessels; but he said, he had rather die than leave his people. The king, observing us make off, began to shout and cry to us to remain, and likewise ordered some heavy bolts (CXLIV) to be shot at us, to stop our course until we should have his orders to fail.

I will now break the course of my narration, and say in what manner the king was made prisoner (CXLV), as he told me himself. I heard him say, that he had quitted his own battalion and men at arms, and, with sir Geoffry de Sergines, had joined the battalion of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, who commanded the rear division. The king was mounted on a small courser, with only a housing of silk; and of all his men at arms, there was only with him the good knight sir Geoffry de Sergines, who attended him as far as the town of Casel, where the king was made prisoner. But before the Turks could take him, I heard say, that sir Geoffry de Sergines defended him in like manner as a faithful servant does the cup of his master from flies; for every time the Saracens approached him, sir Geoffry guarded him with vigorous strokes of the blade and point of his sword, and it seemed as if his courage and strength were doubled.

By dint of gallantry, he drove them away from the king, and thus conducted him to Casel, where, having dismounted at a house, he laid the king in the lap of a woman who had come from Paris, thinking that every moment must be his last, for he had no hopes that he could ever pass that day without dying.

Shortly after arrived sir Philip de Montfort (CXLVI), who told the king that he had just seen the admiral of the sultan, with whom he had formerly treated for a truce, and that if it were his good pleasure, he would return to him again, and renew it. The king entreated him so to do, and declared he would abide by whatever terms they should agree on.

Sir Philip de Montfort returned to the Saracens, who had taken their turbans (CXLVII) from their heads, and gave a ring, which he took off his finger, to the admiral, as a pledge of keeping the truce, and that they would accept the terms as offered, and of which I have spoken.

Just at this moment, a villanous traitor of an apostate ferjeant, named Marcel, set up a loud shout to our people, and said, ‘ Sir knights, surrender yourselves: the king orders you by me so to do, and not to cause yourselves to be slain.’ At these words, all were thunderstruck; and, thinking the king had indeed sent such orders, they each gave up their arms and staves to the Saracens.

The admiral, seeing the Saracens leading the king’s knights as their prisoners, said to Sir Philip de Montfort, that he would not agree to any truce, for that the army had been made prisoners. Sir Philip was greatly astonished at what he saw, for he was aware that, although he was sent as ambassador to settle a truce, he should likewise be made prisoner, and knew not to whom to have recourse. In pagan countries (CXLVIII), they have a very bad custom, that when any ambassadors are dispatched from one king or sultan to another, to demand or conclude a peace, and one of these princes dies, and the treaty is not concluded before that event takes place, the ambassador is made prisoner, wherever he may be, and whether sent by sultan or king.

You must know, that we who had embarked on board our vessels, thinking to escape to Damietta, were not more fortunate than those who had remained on land; for we were also taken, as you shall hear. It is true, that during the time we were on the river, a dreadful tempest of wind arose, blowing towards Damietta, and with such force that, unable to ascend the stream, we were driven towards the Saracens. The king, indeed, had left a body of knights, with orders to guard the invalids on the banks of the river; but it would not have been of any use to have made for that part, as they had all fled. Towards the break of day, we arrived at the pass where the sultan’s gallies lay, to prevent any provisions being sent from Damietta to the army, who, when they perceived us, set up a great noise, and shot at us and such of our horsemen as were on the banks, with

large bolts armed with greek fire, so that it seemed as if the stars were falling from the heavens.

When our mariners had gained the current, and we attempted to push forward, we saw the horsemen whom the king had left to guard the sick flying towards Damietta. The wind became more violent than ever, and drove us against the bank of the river. On the opposite shore were immense numbers of our vessels that the Saracens had taken, which we feared to approach; for we plainly saw them murdering their crews, and throwing the dead bodies into the water, and carrying away the trunks and arms they had thus gained.

Because we would not go near the Saracens, who menaced us, they shot plenty of bolts; upon which, I put on my armour, to prevent such as were well aimed from hurting me. At the stern of my vessel were some of my people, who cried out to me, 'My lord, my lord! our steersman, because the Saracens threaten us, is determined to run us on shore, where we shall be all murdered.' I instantly rose up, for I was then very ill, and, advancing with my drawn sword, declared I would kill the first person who should attempt to run us on the saracen shore. The sailors replied, that it was impossible to proceed, and that I must determine which I would prefer, to be landed on the shore, or to be stranded on the mud of the banks in the river. I preferred, very fortunately, as you shall hear, being run on a mud bank in the river to being carried on shore, where I saw our men murdered, and they followed my orders.

It was not long ere we saw four of the sultan's large gallies making toward us, having full a thousand men on board. I called upon my knights to advise me how to act, whether to surrender to the gallies of the sultan or to those who were on the shore. We were unanimous, that it would be more advisable to surrender to the gallies that were coming, for then we might have a chance of being kept together; whereas, if we gave ourselves up to those on the shore, we should certainly be separated, and perhaps sold to the Bedouins, of whom I have before spoken. To this opinion, however, one of my clerks would not agree, but said it would be much better for us to be slain, as then we should go to paradise; but we would not listen to him, for the fear of death had greater influence over us.

Seeing that we must surrender, I took a small case that contained my jewels and relics, and cast it into the river. One of my sailors told me, that if I would not let him tell the Saracens I was cousin to the king, we should be all put to death. In reply, I bade him say what he pleased. The first of these galleys now came athwart us, and cast anchor close to our bow. Then, as I firmly believe, God sent to my aid a Saracen, who was a subject of the emperor. Having on a pair of trousers of coarse cloth, and swimming straight to my vessel, he embraced my knees, and said, ‘My lord, if you do not believe what I shall say, you are a lost man. To save yourself, you must leap into the river, which will be unobserved by the crew, who are solely occupied with the capture of your bark.’ He had a cord thrown to me from their galley on the escot (CXLIX) of my vessel, and I leaped into the water followed by the Saracen, who indeed saved me, and conducted me to the galley; for I was so weak I staggered, and should have otherwise sunk to the bottom of the river.

I was drawn into the galley, wherein were fourteen score men, besides those who had boarded my vessel, and this poor Saracen held me fast in his arms. Shortly after, I was landed, and they rushed upon me to cut my throat: indeed, I expected nothing else, for he that should do it would imagine he had acquired honour.

This Saracen who had saved me from drowning would not quit hold of me, but cried out to them, ‘The king’s cousin! the king’s cousin!’

I felt the knife at my throat, and had already cast myself on my knees on the ground; but God delivered me from this peril by the aid of the poor Saracen, who led me to the castle where the Saracen chiefs were assembled.

When I was in their presence, they took off my coat of mail; and from pity, seeing me so very ill, they flung over me one of my own scarlet coverlids, lined with minever, which my lady-mother had given me. Another brought me a white leathern girdle, with which I girthed my coverlid round me. One of the Saracen knights gave me a small cap, which I put on my head; but I soon began to tremble, so that my teeth chattered, as well from the fright I had had as from my disorder.

On my complaining of thirst, they brought me some water in a pot; but I had no sooner put it to my mouth, and began drinking, than it ran back through my nostrils. God knows what a pitiful state I was in; for I looked for death rather than life, having an imposthume in my throat. When my attendants saw the water run thus through my nostrils, they began to weep and to be very sorrowful.

The Saracen who had saved me asked my people why they wept: they gave him to understand, that I was nearly dead, from an imposthume in the throat which was choaking me. The good Saracen, having always great compassion for me, went to tell this to one of the Saracen knights, who bade him be comforted, for that he would give me something to drink that should cure me in two days. This he did; and I was soon well, through God's grace, and the beverage which the Saracen knight gave me.

Soon after my recovery, the admiral of the Sultan's galleys sent for me, and demanded if I were cousin to the king, as it was said. I told him, I was not, and related why it had been reported, and that one of my mariners had advised it through fear of the Saracens in the galleys, for that otherwise they would put us to death. The admiral replied, that I had been very well advised, or we should have been all murdered without fail, and thrown into the river. The admiral again asked me, if I had any acquaintance with the emperor Henry* of Germany, then living, and if I were of his lineage: I answered truly, that I had heard my mother say I was his second cousin. The admiral replied, that he would love me the better for it.

Thus, as we were eating and drinking, he sent for an inhabitant of Paris to come to me, who on his entrance, seeing what we were doing, exclaimed, 'Ah, sir, what are you about?' 'What am I about?' replied I. When he informed me, on the part of God, that I was eating meat on a Friday. On which, I suddenly threw my trencher behind me; and the admiral, noticing it, asked of my friendly Saracen, who was always with

* The emperor Frederick II.

me, why I had left off eating. He told him, because it was a Friday, which I had forgotten. The admiral said, that God could never be displeased because I had done it unknowingly. You must know, that the legate who had accompanied the king frequently reproached me for fasting when thus ill, and when there was not any statesman but myself left with the king, and that I should hurt myself by fasting. But notwithstanding this, and that I was a prisoner, I never failed to fast every Friday on bread and water.

A

CONTINUATION

OF

THE SECOND PART

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

&c. &c. &c.

WHICH BEGINS THE SECOND VOLUME OF 'LES MEMOIRES PARTICULIERS RELATIFS
A L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE.'

ON the Sunday after we had been made prisoners, the admiral ordered all that had been taken on the Nile to be brought from the castle, on the banks of the river. In my presence, my chaplain was dragged from the hold of the galley; but, on coming to the open air, he fainted, and the Saracens killed him instantly before my eyes, and flung him into the stream. His clerk, from the disorder he had caught when with the army, being unable to stand, they cast a mortar on his head, killed him, and flung him after his master.

In the like manner did they deal with the other prisoners; for as they were drawn out of the hold of the galleys wherein they had been confined, there were Saracens purposely posted, who, on seeing any one weak or ill, killed him and threw him into the water. Such was the treatment of the unfortunate sick. Seeing this tyranny, I told them, through the interpretation of my Saracen, that they were doing very wrong, and contrary to the commands of Saladin the pagan, who had declared it unlawful to put to death any one to whom they had given salt and bread. They made answer, that they were destroying men of no use, for that they were too ill with their disorders to do any service.

After this, they brought before me my mariners, and said they had all denied their faith. I replied I did not believe it, but that their fears of death might have caused them to say so, and that the moment they found themselves in another country they would return to their own religion.

The admiral added to this, that he believed firmly what I said, for that Saladin had declared, that a Christian was never known to make a good pagan, nor a good Saracen a Christian. The admiral, soon after, made me mount a palfrey, and we rode side by side over a bridge to the place where St Louis and his men were prisoners.

At the entrance of a large pavilion we found a secretary writing down the names of the prisoners by orders of the sultan. I was there forced to declare my name, which I no way wished to conceal, and it was written down with the others. As we entered this pavilion the Saracen, who had preserved my life and had always followed me, said; 'Sir, you must excuse me, but I cannot follow you further. I advise and entreat that you will never quit the hand of this young boy whom you have with you, otherwise the Saracens will murder him.' The boy's name was Bartholomew de Montfaucon, son to the lord Montfaucon de Bar (1).

When my name was written down, the admiral led me and the little boy to the tent where were the barons of France, and more than ten thousand other persons with them. On my entrance, every one seemed to testify great pleasure at seeing me again; and for some time nothing could be heard for their noisy joy, as they concluded I had been murdered.

Thus as we were together, hoping, through the grace of God, we should not long remain in this state, a rich Saracen led us into another tent,

where we had miserable cheer. Numbers of knights and other men were confined in a large court, furrounded with walls of mud. The guards of this prison led them out one at a time, and asked each if he would become a renegado: those that answered in the affirmative were put aside, but those who refused, instantly had their heads cut off.

Shortly after, the council of the sultan sent for us, and demanded to whom it was most agreeable they should deliver the Sultan's message. We unanimously answered, by means of an interpreter, who spoke both French and Saracen, to the count Peter of Brittany. This was the message; 'My lords, the sultan asks by us if you wish to be free, and what you are willing to give for your liberty.'

To this the earl of Brittany replied, that we heartily wished to be delivered from the hands of the sultan, who had made us suffer most unreasonably. But when the council of the sultan asked if we would not be willing to give for our ransom some of the castles of the barons of the holy land, the earl of Brittany answered, that we could not possibly comply; for these castles, and strong places, belonged to the emperor of Germany (II) now on the throne, and who would never consent to the sultan holding any fiefs under him.

The council then asked if we would not surrender some of the castles belonging to the Knights Templars, or to the hospital of Rhodes (III), for our deliverance. The earl replied, that that was equally impossible; for it would be contrary to the accustomed oath which the governors or lords of such castles take on their investiture, when they solemnly swear to God that they will never surrender these castles for the deliverance of any man whatever.

The Saracens then spoke together, saying, that it did not appear we had any desire to regain our liberty; and that they would send us those who well knew how to use their swords, to treat us as the others had been dealt with, and on that they left us.

Not long after the sultan's council had departed, a tall old Saracen, of goodly appearance, came to us, accompanied by a great multitude of young Saracens, each of whom had a large sword by his side, which alarmed us much. The old Saracen asked us, by means of an interpreter, who spoke

and understood our language well, if it were true that we believed in one only God, who had been born for our salvation, was crucified to death, and after three days rose again to save us. We answered, that what he had heard was perfectly true. On this he replied, that since it was so, we ought not to be cast down for any persecutions we might suffer for his sake; and that we had not as yet endured death for him, as he had done for us; and since he had the power to raise himself from the dead, it would not be long before he would deliver us.

The old Saracen then went away, with all the young men, without doing any thing more, which rejoiced me exceedingly; for I really thought the intent of his visit was to cut our heads off. It was not long after this before we heard news of our deliverance.

The sultan's council soon returned to us again, and said the king had exerted himself so effectually, that he had succeeded in obtaining our liberty. They ordered us to send four of our company to hear and know the terms on which we were to have our freedom. To this end we deputed the lords John de Valeri, Philip de Montfort, Baldwin de Ebelin, seneschal of Cyprus, and his brother, the constable of Cyprus, who was one of the handsomest and best informed knights I ever knew, and who loved greatly the people of that country.

These four knights were not long in bringing us the terms of our liberty. In order to try the king, the sultan's council had made the same demands from him as from us; but it pleased God that the good king, St Louis, made similar answers to what we had done through the mouth of count Peter of Brittany. The council, seeing the king would not comply with their demands, threatened to put him in the Bernicles (iv), which is the greatest torture they can inflict on any one. The bernicles are formed of two thick blocks of wood, fastened together at the top; and when they use this mode of torture, they lay the person on his side, between these two blocks, passing his legs through broad pins: they then fix the upper block on the sufferer, and make a man sit on it, by which means all the small bones of his legs are broken or dislocated. To increase the torture, at the end of three days they replace his legs, which are now greatly swollen, in the bernicles, and break them again, which is the most cruel thing ever

heard; and they tie his head down with bullock's sinews, for fear he should move himself while in them.

The good king held all their menaces cheap, and said, that since he was their prisoner they might do to him whatever they pleased. The Saracens finding they could not conquer the king by threats, came to him, and asked how much money he would give the sultan for his ransom, in addition to Damietta, which was to be surrendered. The king replied, that if the sultan would be contented with a reasonable ransom, he would write to the queen to pay it for himself and his army. The Saracens asked why he wanted to write to the queen. He answered, that it was but reasonable he should do so, for that she was his wife and companion. The council then went to the sultan to know what sum he required from the king; and on their return told the king, that if the queen would pay a million of golden besants (v), equal at that time to five hundred thousand livres, she would, by so doing, obtain the king's liberty. The king then asked them, on their oath, should the queen pay these five hundred thousand livres, would the sultan consent to his deliverance. On this they again returned to the sultan to know if he would bind himself by such a promise, and brought back his answer, that he was very willing so to do.

The council then took their oaths to the punctual fulfilment of this agreement, which, when done, the king engaged to pay cheerfully, for the ransom of his army, five hundred thousand livres; and that for his own ransom he would surrender the town of Damietta to the sultan; for he was of a rank whose bodily ransom could not be estimated by the value of money.

When the sultan heard the good disposition of the king, he said,—‘ By my faith, the Frenchman is generous and liberal, when he does not condescend to bargain (vi) about so large a sum of money, but has instantly complied with the first demand. Go, and tell him from me,’ added the sultan, ‘ that I make him a present of one hundred thousand livres, so that he will have only to pay four hundred thousand.’

The sultan then commanded that all of the principal nobles, and great officers of the king, should be embarked in four of the largest galleys, and conducted to Damietta. In the galley on board of which I was shipped, were the good count Peter of Brittany, William count of Flanders, John, the good count de Soissons, sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, constable of France,

and those two excellent knights and brothers, sir Baldwin and sir Guy d'Ebelin.

The captain of the galley made us land before a large house which the sultan had erected on the banks of the river, where there was a handsome tower made of poles of fir wood, and covered with painted cloth. At the entrance a great pavilion had been pitched, where the admirals of the sultan left their swords and staves whenever they wanted to speak with him. Passing this pavilion, there was another very handsome gateway, that led to the great hall of the sultan, and adjoining was a tower like unto the first, by which they mounted to the chamber of the sultan. In the midst of this lodgement was a handsome lawn, on which was another tower larger than the others, whence the sultan made his observations on the surrounding country, and on each army. There was in this lawn an alley that led to the river, at the end of which the sultan had made a summer-house on the strand to bathe himself. This summer-house was formed of trellis work, covered with indian linen, to prevent any one seeing what passed withinside. All the towers were likewise covered with cloth.

We arrived before this lodging on the Thursday preceding the feast of the ascension of our Lord. Near to it the king had landed, to hold a parley with the sultan in a pavilion, and it was then agreed, that the ensuing Saturday the king should go to Damietta.

Just as we were on our departure for Damietta, to surrender it to the sultan, the admiral of the present sultan's father shewed great dissatisfaction with the reigning monarch. Although he had been the principal author of his having been sent for on his father's death at Damietta, to succeed to the throne, he had much disappointed the admiral by dismissing him from his office of constable, and others from their marshalships and seneschalships, to provide for those who had accompanied him to Egypt.

They therefore held a council, when he said,—‘ My lords, you see how much the sultan has dishonoured us, by depriving us of those governments and honours with which his father had entrusted us. Such conduct, you may be assured, will induce him, when once master of the castle and fortresses of Damietta, to have us arrested and put to death in his prisons, through fear that in process of time we may take our revenge on him; as his grandfather did to the admiral and the others who had made the counts de Bar and de

Montfort prisoners. It will be therefore more to our advantage that we destroy him before he escape out of our hands.'

This was unanimously assented to; and they instantly went to practise with the band of the hauleca, who, as I have said before, are those who have the guard of the sultan's person. They made to them remonstrances on the subject similar to those which they had made among themselves, and required of them to slay the sultan, which they promised to do.

One day the sultan invited the knights of the hauleca to dine with him. After the dinner, when he had taken leave of his admirals, and was about to retire to his chamber, one of these knights, who bore the sultan's sword, struck him a blow on the hand, which cut up his arm between the four fingers. The sultan, turning to his admirals, who had been the instigators of it, said,— 'My lords, I make my complaint to you against the knights of the hauleca, who have endeavoured to kill me, as you may see by my hand.' They all replied, that it was much better he should be slain than that he murder them, as he would assuredly do if once in possession of the fortresses of Damietta.

The conspirators acted with great caution, for they ordered the sultan's trumpets and nacquaires to sound for the assembling of the army to know the sultan's will. The admirals and their accomplices told them, Damietta was taken, that the sultan was marching thither, and ordered them to arm and follow him. Instantly all armed, and set off, full gallop, towards Damietta. We were much frightened, on noticing what was going forward, for we really believed Damietta had been stormed.

The sultan, though wounded, being aware of the malice of his enemies, who had conspired against his person, fled to the high tower near his chamber which I mentioned; for those of the hauleca had already destroyed his other pavilions, and were surrounding that in which he had hidden himself. Within this tower were three of his bishops, who had dined with him, who bade him descend. He replied, he would willingly descend, if they would answer for his safety; but they replied, that they would make him come down by force, for that he was not yet arrived at Damietta. They then discharged some greek fire into the tower, which being made only of fir and linen cloth, as I have before said, the whole

was in a blaze; and I promise you, I never beheld so fine nor so sudden a bonfire.

When the sultan saw the fire gaining ground on all sides, he descended into the lawn, of which I have spoken, and ran for the river; but in his flight one of the hauleca struck him a severe blow on the ribs with a sword, and then he flung himself, with the sword in him, into the Nile. Nine other knights pursued and killed him while in the water, near the side of our galley (VII).

One of the fore said knights, whose name was Faracataic, seeing the sultan dead, cut him in twain, and tore the heart from his body. On coming to the king with his hands all bloody, he said, 'What wilt thou give me who have slain thine enemy, who, had he lived, would have put thee to death?' But the good king St Louis made no answer whatever to this demand.

The deed being done, about thirty of them entered our galley with their swords drawn, and their battle-axes on their necks. I asked sir Baldwin d'Ebelin, who understood Saracenic, what they were saying. And he replied, that they said they were come to cut off our heads; and shortly after I saw a large body of our men on board confessing themselves to a monk of la Trinité, who had accompanied the count of Flanders. With regard to myself, I no longer thought of any sin or evil I had done, but that I was about to receive my death: in consequence, I fell on my knees at the feet of one of them, and, making the sign of the cross, said, 'Thus died St Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ebelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me; and I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant me the power of bestowing; but of all the things he had said to me, when I arose up I could not remember one of them.

We were confined in the hold of the galley, and laid heads and heels together. We thought it had been so ordered because they were afraid of attacking us when we were in a body, and that they would destroy us one at a time. This danger lasted the whole night. I had my feet right on the face of the count Peter of Brittany, whose feet, in return, were beside my face. On the morrow we were taken out of the hold, and the admirals sent to inform us that we might renew the treaties we had made with the sultan. Those who were able went thither; but the earl of Brittany, the

constable of Cyprus, and myself, who were grievously ill, remained on board.

The earl of Flanders, the count de Soissons, and the others who had gone to parley with the admirals, related to us the convention for our delivery; and the admirals promised, that as soon as Damietta should be surrendered to them, they would give liberty to the king and the other great personages now prisoners.

They told them, that had the sultan lived, he would have had the king beheaded, with the others; and that, contrary to the treaties entered into, and the promises made to the king, he had already transported to Babylon several of their most considerable men; that they had slain the sultan, because they knew well that the moment he should have been master of Damietta, he would have had them instantly murdered, or would have put them to death when in confinement.

By this new agreement, the king was to swear to leave at their disposal two hundred thousand livres before he quitted the river, and the other two hundred thousand he should pay in Acre. They declared they would detain, for their security, all the sick in Damietta, the cross-bows, armours, machines, and salted meats, until the king should send for them, and should have paid the balance of his ransom.

The oath, which was on this occasion to be taken by the king and the admirals, was drawn up; and on the part of the admirals it ran thus, that in case they failed in their conventions with the king, they would own themselves dishonoured like those who for their sins went on a pilgrimage to Mecca bareheaded, or like to those who divorced their wives, and took them again. By their law, no one can divorce his wife and cohabit with her again, before he has witnessed some other person lying in bed with her. Their third oath was, that they would own themselves blasted and dishonoured, like a Saracen who should eat pork.

The king accepted the above oaths, because master Nicolle of Acre, who knew their manners well, assured him they could not swear more strongly. After the admirals had taken the oath above mentioned, they had one such as they wished him to take written down, and gave it to the king. This oath had been drawn up according to the advice of some renegado

Christians, whom they had with them. It ran thus, that in case the king did not fulfil the conventions he had entered into with them, he might be deprived for ever of the presence of God, of his worthy mother, of the twelve apostles, and of all the saints of both sexes in Paradise. This oath the king took. The other was, that if the king broke his word he should be reputed perjured, as a Christian who had denied God, his baptism and his faith; and in despite of God would spit on his cross, and trample it under foot. But when the king heard this oath read, he declared he would never take it.

The admirals, hearing the king had refused to take the oath which they had required of him, sent in haste for master Nicolle of Acre, to tell him they were greatly dissatisfied with him, and discontented with the king; for that they had sworn every oath he had desired, and now, in his turn, he had refused to comply with the oaths offered to him on their part. Master Nicolle told the king that he was certain, that unless he took the oaths as prescribed, the Saracens would behead him, and all his people.

The king replied, that they might act according to their pleasure, but that for his part he would rather die a good Christian than live under the anger of God, his blessed mother, and his saints. At that time, the patriarch of Jerusalem was with the king: he was eighty years old, or thereabout, and had once before gained the good will of the Saracens for the king, and was then come to him to assist in his delivery from them. It was the custom among the pagans and Christians, that in case any two princes were at war with each other, and one of them should die during the time ambassadors were sent to either, the ambassadors were, in such case, to remain prisoners, whether in pagan land or in Christendom; and because the sultan, lately murdered, had granted a safe-conduct to this patriarch, he was become a prisoner to the Saracens as well as ourselves.

The admirals perceiving the king was not to be frightened by their menaces, one of them said to the others, that it was the patriarch who had thus advised him; and if they would allow him to act, he would force the king to take the oath, for he would cut off the head of the patriarch, and make it fly into the king's lap. The rest would not agree to this; but they seized the good patriarch, and tied him to a post in the presence of the king, and

bound his hands behind his back so tightly, that they soon swelled as big as his head; and the blood spouted out from several parts of his hands. From the sufferings he endured, he cried out, 'Ah! fire, fire, swear boldly; for I take the whole sin of it on my own soul, since it is by this means alone you may have the power to fulfil your promises.' I know not whether the oath was taken at last; but however that may be, the admirals at length held themselves satisfied with the oaths of the king and his lords then present.

When the knights of the hauleca had slain the sultan, the admirals ordered their trumpets and nacquaires to sound merrily before the king's tent; and it was told the king, that the admirals had holden a council and were very desirous to elect him sultan of Babylon. The king one day asked me, if I were of opinion, that if the kingdom of Babylon had been offered him, he ought to have taken it? I answered, that if he had, he would have done a foolish thing, seeing they had murdered their lord. Notwithstanding this, the king told me, he should have scarcely refused it.

This project only failed from the admirals saying among themselves, that the king was the proudest Christian they ever knew; and that, if they elected him sultan, he would force them to turn Christians, or have them put to death. This they said from observing, that whenever he quitted his lodgings, he made the sign of the Cross on the ground, and crossed his body all over. The Saracens added, that if their Mahomet had allowed them to suffer the manifold evils that God had caused the king to undergo, they would never have had any confidence in him, nor paid him their adorations.

Not long after the conventions had been completed between the king and the admirals, it was determined that on the morrow of the feast of the ascension of our Lord, Damietta should be surrendered to the Turks, and the king and all the other prisoners set at liberty. Our four galleys were anchored before the bridge of Damietta, where a pavilion had been pitched for the king's landing.

About sun-rise of the appointed day, sir Geoffry de Sergines went to the town of Damietta (VIII) to deliver it to the admirals, and instantly the flags of the sultan were displayed from the walls. The saracen knights entered the town, and drank of the wines they found there, insomuch that

the greater part were drunk. One of them came on board our galley with his naked sword reeking with blood, telling us that he had killed six of our countrymen, which was a brutal thing for any knight or other to boast of.

Before the surrender of Damietta, the queen had embarked with all our people on board the ships, except the poor sick, whom the Saracens were bound by their oath to take care of, and give up on the payment of two hundred thousand livres, as has been mentioned. They were also to restore the war machines, salted meats, which they never eat, and our armour; but these infidel dogs, on the contrary, killed all the sick, and cut to pieces the machines and other things which they had promised to take care of, and restore at the proper time and place. They made a great heap of the whole, and set it on fire: and it was so immense, the fire blazed from the Friday to the Sunday following.

After they had thus killed, destroyed and set fire to all they could lay hands on, we that ought to have had our liberties at sun-rise remained until sun-set without eating or drinking, and the king suffered equally with us. The admirals were disputing together, and seemed inclined to put us to death. One of them, addressing the others, said,—‘ My lords, if you will believe me and these beside me, we will kill the king and all the great persons with him, and then for forty years to come we need not fear them; for their children are young, and we have possession of Damietta, which will likewise be our security.’

Another Saracen, named Scebrecey, a native of Morentaigne (ix), opposed this, and remonstrated with the others, that if they should slay the king, just after they had killed their sultan, it would be said that the Egyptians were the most disloyal and iniquitous race of men in the world. The admiral, who was desirous of our deaths, replied by palliating arguments. He said, that indeed they had been to blame in slaying their sultan, because it was contrary to the law of Mahomet, who had commanded them to guard their sovereign as the apple of their eye, and he shewed them this commandment written down in a book which he held in his hand. ‘ But,’ added he, ‘ listen, my lords, to another commandment,’ and, turning over the leaves of his book, read to them the commandment of Mahomet, that for the security of the faith, the law permitted the death

of an enemy. Then, turning his speech to his former purpose, he continued,—‘ Now consider the sin we have committed in killing the sultan, against the positive command of our prophet, and the great evil we shall again do if we suffer the king to depart, and if we do not put him to death, in spite of the assurances of safety he may have had from us, for he is the greatest enemy to our law and religion.’

One of the admirals that were against us, thinking we should be slain, came to the bank of the river, and shouted out in Saracen to those who were on board our galleys, and taking off his turban made signs, and told them, they were to carry us back to Babylon. The anchors were instantly raised, and we were carried a good league up the river. This caused great grief to all of us, and many tears fell from our eyes, for we now expected (x) nothing but death.

However, as God willed it, who never is forgetful of his servants, it was agreed among the admirals, about sun-set, that we should have our liberty, and we were in consequence brought back to Damietta. Our galleys were moored close to the shore, and we requested permission to land ; but they would not allow it until we had refreshed ourselves, for the Saracens said it would be a shame for the admirals to discharge us fasting from their prison.

Shortly after, they sent us provision from the army ; that is to say, loaves of cheese that had been baked in the sun to prevent the worms from collecting in them, with hard eggs, which had been boiled four or five days, and the shells of which, in honour to us, they had painted with various colours. When we had eaten some little, they put us on shore, and we went towards the king, whom the Saracens were conducting from the pavilion where they had detained him, toward the water-side. There were full twenty thousand Saracens on foot surrounding the king, girded with swords.

It chanced that a Genoese galley was on the river opposite to the king, on board of which there appeared but one man, who, the moment he saw the king, whistled, and instantly four-score cross-bows, well equipped, with their bows bent and arrows placed, leaped on the deck from below. The

Saracens no sooner saw them, than, panic-struck, they ran away like sheep, and not more than two or three staid with the king.

The Genoese cast a plank on shore, and took on board the king, his brother the count d'Anjou, who was afterward king of Sicily, sir Geoffry de Sergines, sir Philip de Nemours (xi), the marshal of France (xii), the master of the Trinity (xiii), and myself. The count de Poitiers remained prisoner with the Saracens until the king should send the two hundred thousand livres which he was bound to pay before he quitted the river.

The Saturday after the Ascension, which was the morrow of our deliverance, the earl of Flanders, the count de Soissons, and many other great lords, came to take leave of the king. He entreated them to delay going until his brother, the count de Poitiers, should have his liberty; but they replied it was not possible, for their gallies were on the point of failing.

They embarked on board their gallies, on their return to France, and with them was the earl of Brittany, who was grievously sick. He did not live three weeks, but died at sea.

The king, uneasy at the situation of his brother, was very anxious to pay the two hundred thousand livres; and the whole of Saturday and Sunday were employed in it. They paid the money according to weight (xiv), and each weighing was to the amount of ten thousand livres. Towards evening of the Sunday, the king's servants, occupied in this payment, sent him word they still wanted thirty thousand livres. There were then with the king only the count d'Anjou, the marshal of France, the master of the Trinity and myself, all the rest being engaged in paying the ransom. I said to the king it would be much better to ask the commander and marshal of the Knights-Templars to lend him the thirty thousand livres to make up the sum, than to risk his brother longer with such people.

Father Stephen d'Outricourt, master of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave the king, said to me,—‘ Lord de Joinville, the council you give the king is wrong and unreasonable; for you know we receive every farthing on our oath; and that we cannot make any payments but to those who give us their oaths in return.’

The marshal of the Temple, thinking to satisfy the king, said,—‘Sire, don’t attend to the dispute and contention of the lord de Joinville and our commander. For it is, as he has said: we cannot dispose of any of the money intrusted to us, but for the means intended, without acting contrary to our oaths, and being perjured. Know, that the seneschal has ill-advised you to take by force, should we refuse you a loan; but in this you will act according to your will. Should you, however, do so, we will make ourselves amends from the wealth you have in Acre.’ When I heard this menace from them to the king, I said to him, that if he pleased I would go and seek the sum, which he commanded me to do.

I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Templars, and, seeing a coffer of which they refused to give me the keys, I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king’s name; but the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given me. I opened the coffer, took out the sum wanting, and carried it to the king, who was much rejoiced at my return. Thus was the whole payment of the two hundred thousand livres completed for the ransom of the count de Poitiers. Before it was all paid, there were some who advised the king to withhold it until the Saracens had delivered up his brother; but he replied, that since he had promised it, he would pay the whole before he quitted the river.

As he said this, sir Philip de Montfort told the king, that the Saracens had miscounted one scale weight, which was worth ten thousand livres. The king was greatly enraged at this, and commanded sir Philip, on the faith he owed him as his liege man, to pay the Saracens these ten thousand livres, should they in fact not have been paid. He added, that he would never depart until the uttermost penny of the two hundred thousand livres were paid.

Several persons, perceiving the king was not as yet out of danger from the Saracens, often entreated him to retire to a galley that was waiting for him at sea, to be out of their hands, and at length prevailed on him so to do, for he said that he believed he had now fulfilled his oath.

We now began to make some way at sea, and had advanced a full league without saying a word to each other on the concern we felt to have

left the count de Poitiers in prison. In a very short time, sir Philip de Montfort, who had remained to make good the payment of the ten thousand livres, approached us, calling out to the king, 'Sire, sire, wait for your brother the count de Poitiers, who is following you in this other galley.' The king then said to those near him, 'Light up, light up!' (xv) and there was great joy among us all on the arrival of the king's brother. A poor fisherman having hastened to the countess of Poitiers, and told her he had seen the count at liberty from the Saracens, she ordered twenty livres parisis to be given him, and each then went to his galley.

Before I quit the subject of Egypt, I wish not to forget any occurrences that happened while we were there. I shall first speak of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, and say, that I heard from a knight, that he had seen him post himself with his drawn sword in a street at Casel, where the king was made prisoner, and, whenever any Turks passed that street, he attacked and drove them before him with hard blows; as they fled, they discharged arrows at him, with which he was covered; and, when sir Walter had put them to flight, he picked the arrows out of his body, and re-armed himself. He was a long time thus engaged; and the knight saw him rise in his stirrups, and call out, 'Ha! Chastillon, chevalier, where are my good companions?' but not one was with him.

One day afterward, as I was conversing with the admiral of the galleys, I inquired of all his men at arms if there were any one who could give me an account of what was become of him, but I could hear nothing. At length, I met with a knight called sir John Frumons, who told me, that as they were carrying him prisoner, he saw a Turk on the horse of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, whose tail and rump were covered with blood; and when he asked him what was become of the knight to whom that horse belonged, he replied, that he had cut his throat while on horseback, and that he was thus covered with his blood.

There was a most valiant man in our army whose name was sir James du Chastel, bishop of Soissons (xvi), who when he saw we were going toward Damietta, and that every one was impatient to return to France, preferred living with God to returning to where he was born. In

consequence, he made a charge on the Turks, as if he alone meant to combat their army; but they soon sent him to God, and placed him in the company of martyrs, for they killed him in a very short time.

Another thing I witnessed. As the king was waiting, on the river, the completion of the payment of the ransom for his brother the count de Poitiers, a handsome and well-dressed Saracen came up, and presented him with some lard in pots, and a variety of sweet-smelling flowers, telling the king it was the children of the nazac (xvii) of the sultan of Egypt, who had been murdered, that sent him this gift.

The king, hearing the Saracen address him in French, asked him where he had learnt it. He replied, that he was a Christian renegado: on which the king bade him withdraw, for he would not say more to him. I took him aside, and inquired who he was, and why he had become a renegado. The Saracen told me, 'that he was born in Provence, and had followed king John to Egypt, where he was married, and had a very considerable property.' I said to him, 'And do you not know, that if you were to die in such a state, you would descend straight to hell, and be damned for ever?' He replied, 'that he knew it well, and that there was not a better religion than that of the Christians; but I fear, were I to return with you, I should suffer great poverty, and be continually reproached all my days by being called 'Renegado, renegado!' I had rather, therefore, live at my ease, like a rich man, than become such an object of contempt.'

I remonstrated with him, that it was much better to suffer the scorn of the world, since at the day of judgment every evil deed would be made manifest to all, and then damnation would follow. But all this was to no purpose, and when he quitted me I never saw him more.

You have had related the great persecutions and miseries the good king, St Louis, and we all suffered in Egypt. You must know also, that the good queen was not without her share, and very bitter to her heart, as you shall soon hear. Three days before she was brought to bed, she was informed that the good king, her husband, had been made prisoner, which so troubled her mind, that she seemed continually to see her chamber filled with Saracens, ready to slay her; and she incessantly kept crying out, 'Help, help!' when there was not a soul near her. For fear the fruit of

her womb should perish, she made a knight watch at the foot of her bed all night without sleeping. This knight was very old, not less than eighty years, or perhaps more; and every time she screamed he held her hands, and said, 'Madam, do not be thus alarmed; I am with you: quit these fears.'

Before the good lady was brought to bed, she ordered every person to leave her chamber except this ancient knight, when she cast herself out of bed on her knees before him, and requested that he would grant her a boon. The knight, with an oath, promised compliance. The queen then said,— 'Sir knight, I request, on the oath you have sworn, that should the Saracens storm this town and take it, you will cut off my head before they seize my person.' The knight replied, that he would cheerfully so do, and that he had before thought of it, in case such an event should happen.

The queen was, shortly after, delivered of a son in the town of Damietta, whose name was John, and his surname Tristan * (xviii), because he had been born in misery and poverty. The day she was brought to bed it was told her, that the Pisans, the Genoese, and all the poorer commonalty that were in the town, were about to fly and leave the king.

The queen sent for them, and addressed them,— 'Gentlemen, I beg of you, for the love of God, that you will not think of quitting this town; for you well know if you do, that my lord the king, and his whole army, will be ruined. At least, if such be your fixed determination, have pity on this wretched person who now lies in pain, and wait until she be recovered, before you put it in execution.'

They answered, they could not remain longer in a town where they were dying of hunger. She said, they should never die of hunger; for that she would buy up all the provision that was in the place, and retain it henceforward in the name of the king. This she was obliged to do; and all the provision that could be found was bought up, which, on her recovery a little time after, cost her upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand livres to feed these people. Notwithstanding this, the good lady was forced to rise before she was perfectly recovered, and set out for the city of Acre, for Damietta was to be surrendered to the Turks and Saracens.

* Tristan died in 1270, at Tunis, aged twenty years.

It should be known, that although the king had suffered such a variety of woes, his attendants, when he embarked, had not made any preparations for him on board, such as robes, bed, bedding, and other necessary things. He was thus forced, for six days, to sleep on mattresses, until we arrived at Acre. The king had not any other habiliments but two robes which the sultan had caused to be made for him: they were of a black filken stuff, lined with squirrel skins, with a number of golden buttons.

While we were on our voyage to Acre, on account of illness, I was always seated near the king; and it was then he related to me how he had been taken, and how, through the aid of God, he had accomplished his own ransom and ours. I was likewise obliged to tell him how I had been captured on the river, and how a Saracen had saved my life. The king said, I ought to feel myself under the greatest obligations to our Lord, who had delivered me from such imminent dangers. At times, the good and holy king bewailed bitterly the death of his brother the count d'Artois.

He one day inquired what his brother, the count d'Anjou was doing, and complained, that notwithstanding they were in the same galley, he never once thought of being in his company a single day. When the king was told that he was playing at tables (xix) with sir Walter de Nemours, he arose hastily, though from his severe illness he could scarcely stand, and went staggering to where they were at play, when seizing the dice and tables he flung them into the sea, and was in a violent passion with his brother for so soon thinking of thus amusing himself by gaming, forgetful of the death of his brother the count d'Artois, and of the great perils from which the Lord had delivered them. But sir Walter de Nemours suffered most, for the king flung all the money that lay on the tables after them into the sea (xx).

At this place I must relate some great persecutions and evils that befel me when at Acre, but from which those two, in whom I had my whole confidence, our Lord God and the blessed Virgin Mary, relieved me. This I say as an encouragement to such as may read my book, to have a perfect confidence in God, and patience in their adversities and tribulations, when he will aid them, as he has done me, many and many times.

On the king's arrival before Acre, the inhabitants of that city came out in grand procession to meet him on the sea-shore, and received him with much joy. Soon after, the king sent for me, and expressly commanded me, as I valued his love, to come and eat with him morning and evening, until he should determine whether to return to France or to remain there.

I was lodged with the rector of Acre, for there the bishop had fixed my residence, and was most grievously ill. Of all my servants, there was but one that was not confined to his bed with sickness like myself; nor had I any to comfort me, by once offering me something to drink. The more to enliven me, I saw daily pass my window twenty corpses for burial; and when I heard the chaunt 'Libera me Domine,' I shed floods of tears, and cried out to God that he would mercifully save me and my household from the pestilence that then raged. And this he did.

Not long after the king's arrival at Acre, he summoned his brothers, and all the other nobles, on a certain Sunday, and, when assembled, he addressed them,—'My lords, I have called you together, to give you some news from France. In truth, my lady-mother, the queen, has sent for me, and it is necessary that I return with the utmost haste, for my kingdom is in great danger, inasmuch as there exists neither peace nor truce with the king of England. The people here wish to detain me, assuring me that if I depart their country will be destroyed, and insist on following me. I beg you will maturely consider what I have said, and give me your opinions within eight days.'

On the Sunday following, we all presented ourselves before the king to give him our opinions, as he had charged us, whether he should depart or stay. Sir Guion de Malvoisin was our spokesman, and said,—'Sire, my lords your brothers, and the other nobles now present, have fully considered your situation, and they are of opinion, that you cannot remain longer in this country with honour to yourself, or profit to your kingdom. For, in the first place, of all the knights whom you led to Cyprus, amounting to two thousand eight hundred, not one hundred remain. Secondly, you have not any habitation in this country, nor have your army any money: for these reasons, which we have maturely weighed, we unanimously advise that you return to France to reinforce yourself with men at arms, and supply yourself

with money, so that you may hastily repair again hither, and take vengeance on the enemies of God, and of his holy religion.'

The king was not pleased with this advice of sir Guy, but demanded from each person his private opinion on the business, beginning with the counts d'Anjou, de Poitiers, and the other nobles near him. All of them replied, they agreed in the advice of sir Guy de Malvoisin. The count de Japhe (xxi) was hard pressed to give his opinion, for he had castles and possessions in those countries; but when the king insisted on having it, he said, that if the king could keep the field, it would redound more to his honour to remain, than thus discomfited to return. I, who was the fourteenth in rank, answered in my turn that I was of the same opinion with the count de Japhe; moreover, giving these additional reasons, that it was reported the king had not as yet expended any of the money from the royal treasury, but had employed that which was in the hands of the clerks of finance; and that the king should send to the Morea, and the adjoining countries, to seek powerful reinforcements of men at arms, who, when they should learn the high pay the king was willing to give, would hasten to join him from all parts, and by this means the king might deliver the multitude of poor prisoners who had been captured in the service of God, which would never be the case unless it were done as now proposed.

You must know, that at this moment none reproved me for my opinion; but many began to weep, for there was scarcely one among us who had not some of his relations in the prisons of the Saracens.

Sir William de Belmont (xxii) spoke next, and said that my advice was very good, and that he agreed in it. When all had delivered their opinions, the king was much confounded at their diversity, and took eight days more to declare which he should follow. When we had left the presence of the king, the great nobles made a violent attack on me, and, through jealousy and envy, said,—'Ha! certainly the king must be mad, if he do not follow your opinion, lord de Joinville, in preference to that of the whole french council.' But to this I made not any reply.

The tables were soon after laid for dinner, and the king, who had usually made me sit down near him when his brothers were absent, and

during the repasts had conversed with me, did not now open his lips, nor even turn his face toward me. I then thought he was displeased with me for having said that he had not employed his own money, when he had expended such very large sums. After he had said grace, and returned thanks to God for his dinner, I retired to a window near the head of the king's bed, and, passing my hand through the grating, remained there musing. I said to myself, that if the king should now return to France, I would go to the prince of Antioch (xxiii), who was a relation of mine.

While I was thus meditating, the king leant on my shoulders, and held my head between his hands. I thought it was sir Philip de Nemours, who had been fretting me all the day for the advice which I had given the king, and said to him, 'Sir Philip, do leave me quiet in my misfortune.' As I turned round, the king covered my face with his hands, and I then knew it was the king from an emerald on his finger. I wished to make some reparation, as one that had improperly spoken; but the king bade me be silent, and continued, 'Now, lord de Joinville, tell me how you, who are so young a man, could have the courage to advise me to remain in these countries contrary to the opinion of all my greatest nobles?' I replied, that if I had advised him well, he should follow it; if the contrary, he ought not to think more on what I had said. 'And will you remain with me, if I should stay?' 'Yes, certainly,' answered I, 'were it at my own or at another's expense.' The king said, that he was pleased with the advice I had given, but ordered me to tell this to no one.

I was so rejoiced that whole week with what he had told me, that I was insensible to my illness, and defended myself boldly against the other lords when they attacked me.

You must know, in these countries the peasant is called Poulain* (xxiv), and I was told by my cousin sir Peter d'Avallon, that I was called Poulain, because I had advised the king to remain with the poulains. This information he gave me that I might defend myself against those who should call me so, and tell them that I would rather be a poulain than such recreant knights as themselves (xxv).

* *Poulain*,—a child born of an European mother by a Syrian father.—*Gloss. to Louvre Edit.*

On the Sunday we all again assembled in the presence of the king, who began by signing himself with the cross, saying that it was from the instructions of his mother he did so, who had thus ordered him, and likewise to invoke the name of God and the aid of his Holy Spirit, whenever he was about to make a speech. He then continued,—‘ My lords, I feel equally thankful to those who have advised our return to France as to those who have recommended our stay here. But, since I last saw you I have fully considered this matter, and believe, that should we remain here, my kingdom will not the sooner be in great danger from it; for my lady-mother the queen has a sufficiency of men at arms to defend it. I have thought much on what the knights of this country say, that if I depart, the kingdom of Jerusalem will be lost, since no one will remain here after me. Now, my lords, having told my resolution, let such speak out boldly who wish to remain with me; and I promise to give them emoluments that the fault shall not be mine (xxvi) but their own, if they do not remain. Those that may not choose to stay, God be with them.’

When the king had done speaking, several were as if thunderstruck, and began to weep bitterly. After the king had declared his resolution, he gave permission to his brothers to return to France; but I know not if he did this at their requests, or whether it was the will of the king. This passed about St John Baptist’s day.

Shortly after the departure of his brothers for France, the king was impatient to learn what success those who had staid with him had met with in recruiting his men at arms. On the feast-day of St James, whose pilgrim I was, for the manifold kindness he had shewn me, the king, after mass, retired to his chamber, and called to him the chiefs of his council, namely, sir Peter the chamberlain (xxvii), who was the most loyal and upright man I ever saw of the king’s household, that good knight sir Geoffry de Sergines, the discreet sir Giles le Brun, and others, among whom was that prudent man to whom the king, after the death of sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, had given the constable’s sword. He asked them what numbers and sort of men they had collected for the reinforcement of his army, and with warmth continued,—‘ You know that it is about a month since I have declared my

intention to stay herè, and I have not as yet had intelligence that you have raised any reinforcements of knights or others.'

To this sir Peter the chamberlain replied, in the name of the council,—
 'Sire, we have not hitherto done any thing, nor do we think we shall ever accomplish it; for every one demands such a price, and so great pay, that we are afraid of promising to give them what they ask.' The king would know to whom they had spoken, and those who had demanded such great pay. They unanimously replied, that it was I, and that I would not be satisfied with a trifle. All this I overheard as I was in the king's apartment; and the council had told the king these things of me, because I had advised him, contrary to their opinion, to remain, and had thus prevented their return to France.

The king sent for me: on my entrance, I cast myself on my knees before him; when, making me rise and seat myself, he said,—'Seneschal, you know full well the confidence I have in you, and how much you are beloved by me. My council, notwithstanding this, assure me, that you are so hard to deal with, that they cannot satisfy you in regard to the pay they are willing to give you. How is this?'

'Sire,' replied I, 'I know not what they may have reported to you: but in regard to myself, if I demand a good salary, I cannot avoid it; for you know, that when I was made prisoner on the Nile, I lost every thing I had, except what was on my body, and I cannot maintain my people on a little.'

The king then asked, how much I would have for the support of my company until next Easter, which was nearly half a year. I answered, two thousand livres. 'Now tell me,' continued the king, 'have you no knights here with you?' 'Yes, sire, I made sir Peter de Pontmolain remain, who is the third under my banner; and he costs me four hundred livres.' The king, then reckoning on his fingers, said, 'Your knights and men at arms then cost you twelve hundred livres' (xxviii). I then said, 'Consider, sire, if I must not require full eight hundred livres to equip myself with horses and armour, and to provide a table for my knights until Easter.' The king then told his council that he could not think my demands extravagant; and said to me, that he retained me in his service.

Not long after this, the emperor of Germany sent an embassy to the king, with credential letters, to say that he had written to the sultan of Babylon, of whose death he was ignorant, to give credit to those he sent to him, and, cost what it would, to deliver the king of France and his army from their captivity. But I well remember, that several said they believed the emperor wished to find them still prisoners ; for they suspected, that his motive in sending this embassy was to cause us to be more straightly confined, and more heavily oppressed. When the ambassadors found us at liberty they returned to the emperor.

After this embassy was departed, there arrived at Acre another from the sultan of Damascus (xxix) to the king. The sultan complained, in his letter, of the admirals of Egypt, for having put to death their sultan, who was his cousin. He offered, if the king would assist him against them, to deliver up the kingdom of Jerusalem, which they held. The king replied to these ambassadors, that if they would retire to their lodgings, which had been prepared for them, they should shortly have an answer on the subject on which the sultan of Damascus had written to him. To this they consented ; and the king resolved, in council, to send his answer by the ambassadors ; but that they should be accompanied by a monk, called father Yves le Breton, who was of the order of preaching friars.

Father Yves was sent for, and dispatched to the ambassadors of the sultan, to say, the king had ordered him to accompany them to Damascus, to inform the sultan what were the king's intentions respecting the Saracens. This father Yves did ; but I must relate an incident which I heard from him. On going from the king's residence to the lodgings of the ambassadors, he met a very old woman in the street, having in her right hand a porringer full of fire, and in her left a phial of water. Father Yves asked, ' Woman, what art thou going to do with this fire and water which thou art carrying ? ' She replied, that with the fire she wished to burn paradise, and with the water to drown hell, so that there should be never more a paradise or hell. The friar asked why she uttered such words. ' Because,' she said, ' I wish not that any one should do good for the reward of paradise, nor avoid evil from fear of hell ; but every good ought to be done from the perfect and sincere love we owe to our Creator, God, who is

the supreme Good, and who loved us so much that he suffered death for our redemption ; which death he submitted to for the sin of our first father, Adam, and for our salvation.'

During the king's residence at Acre, there came likewise to him ambassadors from the prince of the Bedouins, called the Old Man of the Mountain. After the king had attended mass in the morning, he would hear what these ambassadors had to say. On their entrance, the king caused them to be seated, to deliver their message ; when one of the chiefs began, by asking the king if he were acquainted with their lord, the prince of the mountain. The king said he was not : he had never seen him, although he had heard much spoken of him. The chief continued ; ' Sire, since you have heard my lord spoken of, I wonder much that you have not sent him such of your people as should have made him your friend, in like manner as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the sultan of Babylon, and many other princes, have yearly done ; for they know well, that they would not be allowed to exist or reign, but during his good pleasure. For this cause he has dispatched us hither to advertise you, that he wills you should act in the like manner, or at least that you acquit him of the tribute he pays annually to the grand master of the Temple, or of the Hospital, and if you do this, he will consider it as paid to himself. My lord says truly, that should he destroy the master of the Temple, or of the Hospital, there would soon be others as good, and for this reason he is unwilling to risk his peoples' lives where little is to be gained.'

The king replied, that he would consider what they had said, and if they would return in the evening they should have his answer. When they came again before the king it was about vespers, and they found the master of the Temple on one side of him, and the master of the Hospital on the other. The king, on their entrance, ordered them to repeat what they had before said to him, as well as the demand which they had made in the morning. They replied, that they should not think it right to repeat what they had said, except in the presence of such as had heard them in the morning. The masters of the Temple, and of the Hospital, on this ordered them to repeat it. The chief then repeated what he had said before to the king, as has been mentioned.

The masters, on hearing it, bade them come and confer with them in the morning, and they should then know the king's pleasure. On the morrow, when they were before the masters of the Temple and Hospital, they told them, that their lord had very foolishly and impudently sent such a message to the king of France, and had used such harsh expressions, that were it not unbecoming the honour of the king, on the account of their being invested with the character of ambassadors, he would have had them thrown into the filthy sea of Acre, and drowned, in despite of their master. 'And we command you,' continued the masters, 'to return to your lord, and to come back within fifteen days with such letters from your prince, that the king shall be contented with him and with you.'

Before the fifteen days were expired, the same ambassadors returned from the prince of the Mountain, and, addressing the king, said,—'Sire, we are come back from our lord, who informs you, that as the shirt is the part of dress nearest to the body, he sends you this, his shirt, as a gift, or a symbol that you are the king for whom he has the greatest affection, and which he is most desirous to cultivate; and, for a further assurance of it, here is his ring that he sends you, which is of pure gold, and hath his name engraven on it; and with this ring our lord espouses you, and understands that henceforward you be as one of the fingers of his hand.'

Among other presents sent to the king were an elephant of crystal, figures of men of different crystals, the whole set in fine pieces of amber with borders of pure gold. You must know, that when the ambassadors opened the case that contained all these fine things, the whole apartment was instantly embalmed with the sweet odour of their perfumes.

The king, desirous not to be behind hand in making a return for these presents from the old prince of the mountain (xxx), sent to him, by his ambassadors, and by father Yves le Breton, who understood the Saracenic, great quantities of scarlet robes, cups of gold, and other vessels of silver. When father Yves was in the presence of the prince of the Bedouins, he conversed with him on the articles of his faith: but, as he afterward reported to the king, he found he did not believe in Mahomet, but followed the religion of Aly, who was, he said, the uncle of Mahomet. He told him, that it was Aly to whom Mahomet was indebted for all the

honours he enjoyed; and that, when Mahomet had made his great conquests over mankind, he quarrelled with and separated from Aly, who perceiving the pride of Mahomet, and that he wished to trample upon him, began to draw as many as he could to his doctrines, and retired to a part of the deserts and mountains of Egypt, where he gave them a different creed from that of Mahomet. Those who support the religion of Aly call those who follow Mahomet unbelievers, as the Mahometans in like manner style the Bedouins infidels. Each party, in this respect, says the truth, for in fact they are both unbelievers.

One of the points of doctrine of Aly consists in the belief, that when any one is killed by the command or in the service of his superior, the soul of the person so killed (xxx1) goes into another body of higher rank, and enjoys more comforts than before. It is for this reason that the Bedouins of the mountain are ambitious to be killed in the service of their prince, in the expectation of enjoying the above recompence.

Another point is, that no one can die before his predetermined day. This the Bedouins so firmly believe that they never go in armour to battle; for, if they did, they would think they were acting contrary to the dogmas of their faith. When they swear at their children, they usually say, 'Mayest thou be cursed like him who arms himself for fear of death,' which, they think, every one should be ashamed of. This is an absurd error; for it supposes that God, who is all-powerful, cannot abridge or lengthen life at his pleasure. It is also false, for in Him alone resides omnipotency.

While father Yves le Breton was on his embassy to the old man of the mountain, he one day found at the head of the prince's bed a small book (xxx11), in which were written many of the excellent words that our Saviour had said to St Peter during his residence on earth, and prior to his passion. Father Yves, having read them, said, 'Ah, my lord! the frequent reading of this book will do you much good; for, small as it may be, it contains many excellent things.'

The old man of the mountain replied, that he frequently read it, as he had great faith in St Peter. He continued,—'In the beginning of the world, the soul of Abel, after his brother Cain had murdered him, entered the body of Noah; and the soul of Noah, on his decease, went into

the body of Abraham ; and after Abraham it entered the body of St Peter, who is now under the earth.'

Father Yves, hearing him thus talk, argued with him on the absurdity of his belief, and shewed him many fair promises and commandments of God, but he would never have any faith in them. Father Yves reported to the king, that when the prince of the Bedouins took the field, he was preceded by a man carrying his battle-axe, the handle of which was covered with silver ; and this handle served as a case for a number of sharp knives. The bearer cried out with a loud voice in his language, ' Turn back ! fly from before him who carries the deaths of kings in his hands.'

I have delayed informing you of the answer which the king made to the ambassadors from Damascus. It was to this effect : that the king would send to the admirals of Egypt to know if they were willing to re-establish the truce they had promised, but which they had already broken, as has been said, and, should they refuse, the king would very willingly join his forces, and assist him in revenging the murder of his cousin the sultan of Babylon.

After this, the king, during the time he was at Acre, sent sir John de Vallance to the admirals in Egypt, to require them to make such satisfaction to the king for the outrages they had committed, contrary to treaty, that he should be contented with them. This the admirals promised to do, but on condition that he would unite himself with them against the sultan of Damascus before mentioned. To gain the king's heart, after that wise man sir John de Vallance had strongly remonstrated with and severely blamed them for the wrongs they had done contrary to their law, and for breaking the truce they had solemnly sworn to keep, they sent to the king all the knights whom they had detained in their prisons. They likewise sent him the bones of the count Walter de Brienne (xxxiii), that they might be buried in consecrated ground.

Sir John de Vallance brought back with him two hundred knights, without including great numbers of common people who had been confined in the faracene prisons. On his arrival at Acre, madame de Secte (xxxiv), cousin-german to the count de Brienne, received his bones, and had them interred well and honourably in the church of the Knights Hospitallers at

Acre. The funeral service was grand, and attended by every knight, who made his offering of a waxen taper and a silver penny. The king offered a taper, and a golden bezant of the coinage of madame de Secte (xxxv), which caused every one to wonder, for he was never before known to make an offering of any coin but his own. He did this, however, out of compliment to madame de Secte.

Among the knights whom sir John de Vallance had brought with him from Egypt, I was acquainted with forty at least, attached to the count of Champagne, who were in a most ragged and dirty condition (xxxvi). These forty I had new dressed at my own expense; and, clothed in coats and furcoats of green, I conducted them to the presence of the king, and entreated that he would retain them in his service.

The king, having heard my request, made not a word of reply; but one of his council then present reproved me, saying, that I did very ill to make such requests to the king, who had already exceeded the state (xxxvii) of his income by seven thousand livres. I replied, that misfortunes make people speak; for that among us of Champagne we had lost in the service of the king at least five and thirty knights bannerets of the count of Champagne, adding, that the king would not act properly if he did not retain them, seeing the want he was in of knights. As I said this, I began to weep, when the king appeased me, by granting what I had asked: he retained all the knights, and added them to my battalion.

When the king had given audience to the ambassadors from the admirals of Egypt who had accompanied sir John de Vallance, and learnt that they were impatient to return, he told them, that he would not enter into any negotiation with them for a truce until they should have restored all the heads of the Christians which were hanging on the walls of Quassere (xxxviii), from the time the counts of Montfort and of Bar were made prisoners. They were likewise to send him all children whom they had taken when young, and had forced to deny the Christian religion and believe in their faith; and, beside these two articles, they were to send an acquittance for the two hundred thousand livres which were still owing to them.

The king ordered sir John de Vallance to return with the ambassadors, on account of his consummate wisdom and valour, to announce this answer to the admirals.

About this time the king left Acre, and went to Cæsarea with all his people, and had the walls and fortifications of that place repaired, which the Saracens had broken down and destroyed. Cæsarea is full twelve leagues from Acre, on the road to Jerusalem. I know not how it happened, except by the will of God, who can do as he lists, but during the year that the king staid at Cæsarea to repair it, no attack was made upon him, nor harm done to him, nor to the few men at arms that were left at Acre.

I have before said, that ambassadors had come to the king from the great cham of Tartary (xxxix) during our residence at Cyprus. They assured the king they were come to assist him in the conquest of Jerusalem from the Saracens. The king sent them back, and with them two notable friars preachers (xl), who carried as a present to the cham of Tartary a tent in the form of a chapel, the lining of which was of scarlet cloth, embroidered over with the history of our religion; the annunciation of the angel Gabriel, the nativity, the baptism of our Lord, the passion, the ascension, and the descent of the Holy Ghost. The king sent also chalices, books, ornaments, and every thing necessary for saying mass; and, as I have since heard these ambassadors tell the king, they embarked for the port of Antioch, and in going from thence to the place where the cham of Tartary resided, they were occupied for a whole year travelling ten leagues a day. They found the country through which they passed subject to the Tartars, and saw in different towns on their road large mounds of bones.

The ambassadors inquired how they could have conquered so large a tract of country, and destroyed such numbers of people, whose bones they had seen piled up. The Tartars described to them their manners, beginning from their first origin, saying they were sprung from a great berrie (xli), in a plain where nothing grew. This berrie was placed under a rock, so very high that no one could pass it, and it pointed toward the east. The Tartars told them, that between this, and other rocks towards the extremity of the earth, were inclosed the people of Gog and Magog (xlii), who were to

attend antichrist when he should come, at the end of the world, to make a general destruction.

From this same berrie came the Tartars that are subject to Prester John (XLIII) on the one side, and to the emperor of Persia on the other, which empire was joined to them also by a narrow tract of land.

There were many infidel nations intermixed with them, to whom they were forced to pay a yearly tribute, for themselves and for the pasturage of their herds, which were their sole nourishment.

The Tartars added, that this Prester John, the emperor of Persia, and the other kings to whom they were tributary, held them in great abhorrence and hatred; for when they carried them their tribute, they would not receive it in their presence, but turned their backs on them. This conduct was the cause that one of their wise men went from berrie to berrie, stating to the inhabitants the wretched condition they were in, and remonstrating on the base slavery they were suffering from various princes, and recommended that they should take council together on the best means of extricating themselves from the debasing condition in which they were now kept. This wise man worked so effectually on their minds that there was a general assembly appointed at the berrie nearest to the lands of Prester John. After many remonstrances, this wise man prevailed on them to act as he should advise: they only requested him to be prudent in adopting the best means to accomplish his purposes.

He told them, they would never be successful until they should have a king to be master and lord over them, and whom they must obey in whatsoever he commanded. The manner in which he proposed they should elect a king was as follows: of the fifty-two tribes of which the Tartars were composed, each tribe should bring him an arrow (XLIV) marked with the name and seal of the tribe. This was agreed to by all the people; and when done, the whole fifty-two arrows were placed before a child of five years old, and from the tribe whose arrow the child should pick the king was to be chosen.

The child having taken an arrow, all the tribes were ordered to retire; and fifty-two men, the most learned and valiant, were selected from the tribe to whom the arrow belonged, among whom was their adviser; and

each of them holding an arrow apart signed with his name, they made a child of five years old take one of these arrows, the owner of which was to be their king or ruler. By accident, the choice of the child fell on the arrow of him who had proposed the measure, to the great joy of the whole nation. Having caused silence to be proclaimed, he said,—‘ Gentlemen, if you wish that I should be your lord, you will swear by Him who made the heavens and earth, that you will obey my commands.’ And they all took the oath.

After this, he gave them many useful instructions, very excellent for keeping a nation in peace at home. One of his regulations was, that no one should seize the goods of another without his will, nor to his loss; and that no one should strike another, under pain of his hand being cut off. Another, that no one should force the wife or daughter of any one, under penalty of death. Many other good laws did he promulgate for the preservation of peace among them.

Having given them these instructions, he remonstrated with them on their ancient enemy Prester John, and how great his hatred was against them; and, in conclusion, said,—‘ Now, as I am determined to attack him, I order you all to be ready to-morrow to follow me. Should it so happen that we be defeated, which God forbid, each of you must do the best he can to save himself. Should the victory be ours, I strictly command that it be followed up with courage, should the combat last three days and three nights, without any one daring to think of pillage, but all must be solely occupied with destroying and putting to death the enemy; for when the victory shall be completely gained, I will so honourably divide the plunder among you, that every one shall be satisfied.’ He was heard with pleasure, and his orders unanimously obeyed.

On the morrow, according to what had been proposed, so did they act. They made a very severe inroad on their enemies, and, according to the will of God, who is all powerful, they defeated them, and put to death every one that had defensive arms in his hand. But those that wore a religious dress, and the priests, were spared. The rest of the nation, under Prester John, who were not engaged in battle, submitted, and placed themselves under their dominion.

A wonderful thing (XLV) happened after this conquest. A great chief of one of the tribes before spoken of was missing from the Tartars three days, without any thing being known of him. On his return, he told his people that he thought he had been absent but one night, and that he had not suffered hunger or thirst. He related, that he had ascended a marvellous high hill, where he had seen the handsomest race of men, and the finest dressed, that he had ever beheld in his life. In the center of this hill a king was seated on a throne of gold, who was superior in beauty and dress to all the others : on his right and left were six kings richly adorned with jewels, and with crowns on their heads. Near to him, on his right, was a queen on her knees, who begged and entreated him to consider his people. On his left a most beautiful youth knelt, having two wings as brilliant as the sun ; and around the king were great numbers of handsome winged attendants.

The king called him to him, and said, ‘ Thou art come from the host of the Tartars.’ ‘ Sire,’ replied I, ‘ I am.’ ‘ Thou wilt return thither, and tell the cham of Tartary that thou hast seen me, who am the Lord of heaven and earth ; and that I order him to render me thanks and praise for the victory I have granted him over Prester John and his nation ; and thou wilt tell him from me, that I give him power to subdue the whole earth.’ ‘ Sire,’ answered the chief, ‘ how will the cham of Tartary believe me ?’ ‘ Thou wilt tell him, he shall believe in thee from the following circumstance ; that thou shalt go and combat the emperor of Persia with three hundred of thy men, and that, through me, thou shalt vanquish the emperor of Persia, although he will advance to combat thee with three hundred thousand men at arms and upwards. But before thou think of fighting with the emperor of Persia, thou wilt demand of the cham of Tartary, that he give up to thee all priests, the monks, and the commonalty who have remained of those taken in the battle with Prester John ; and thou wilt believe all they shall say and shew to thee, for they are my people and my servants.’ ‘ Sire,’ replied the tartar chief, I shall never find my way, unless you cause me to be conducted.’ The king, on this, turned round, and said, ‘ Come hither, George : go and conduct this man to his quarters, and let him be restored safe ;’ and instantly this chief was transported among the Tartars.

On his return, all the host of the Tartars came to see him, and made him good cheer. He very soon demanded the priests and monks from the cham of Tartary, according to the instructions he had received from the King on the mount, who were granted to him. This prince of the Tartars received very kindly the doctrines they taught, and all his people were baptised. When this ceremony was over, he selected three hundred, made them confess themselves and get ready, and thence marched to attack the emperor of Persia, whom he defeated, and drove out of his kingdom and possessions. He fled as far as Jerusalem; and it was he who vanquished our people, and made the count Gaultier de Brienne prisoner, as you shall hear related. The subjects of this Christian prince increased so much, according to the information I had from those whom the king had sent as ambassadors to Tartary, that they counted in his army eight hundred chapels on wheels.

But let us now return to my principal subject. During the time the king was fortifying Cæsarea, as I have before noticed, there came to him a knight called sir Elenars de Seningaen (XLVI), who said he had set out from the kingdom of Norone (XLVII), where he had embarked, and, coasting Spain, had passed the straits of Morocco; and that he had run great hazards, and suffered much evil before he could come to us. The king retained this knight, with ten others of his companions. I heard him say, that the nights in the land of Norone, during the summer, were so short that you could see in the latest part of them. When this knight became acquainted with the country, he and his people began to hunt the lions (XLVIII), many of whom they took, but not without much bodily danger.

Their manner of hunting was on horseback; and when they found a lion, they shot at him at a proper distance from their bow or cross-bow. On the lion being wounded, he ran at the first he saw, who instantly spurred his horse to a full gallop, dropping as he fled some piece of old cloth or coverlid, which the lion seized and tore to pieces, imagining it was the man he was in pursuit of. As the lion was employed in tearing the cloth, others advanced and shot at him, which made him again pursue them: they kept

dropping old cloths, and shooting at him alternately, until they killed him. Thus did they destroy many lions.

Another most noble knight came to the king when he was at Cæsarea, who said he was of the house of Coucy (XLIX). The king said, he was his cousin by his descent from one of the sisters of king Philip who had been married to the emperor of Constantinople. The king retained this knight, and nine others, for one year; on the expiration of which, he returned to Constantinople, whence he had come. While he was with us, I heard him tell the king, that the emperor of Constantinople had once formed an alliance with the king of the Comnains (L), to have their assistance to conquer the emperor of Greece, whose name was Vataiche (LI); and he added, that the king of the Comnains, to have greater faith in the professions of the emperor of Constantinople, caused him and their people on both sides to be blooded, and made each drink alternately of the other's blood, in sign of brotherhood (LII), saying they were now brothers of the same blood. It was thus we were forced to do with this knight and his companions; and our blood, being mixed with wine, was drank by each party, as constituting us all brothers of the same blood.

They performed another ceremony, by driving a dog (LIII) between them and us, as we were divided into two bodies, and then cutting him to pieces with their swords, saying, 'Let those be thus mangled who shall fail in their engagements to each other.'

Another wonderful story this knight of Coucy told the king. He said, that in the country of the Comnains, when a great and powerful prince died, on his decease an immense grave was made, and the dead person most richly adorned was seated in a magnificent chair within the grave, and the finest horse he had possessed, together with one of his officers, were let down alive into the grave. The officer, before he descended, took leave of the king and the other great personages present, when the king gave to him a large quantity of gold and silver coin, which he placed in a scarf round his neck, the king making him promise that on his arrival in the other world he would restore to him his money, which he faithfully engaged to do. After this, the king gave him a letter addressed to the first of their monarchs, in which he

told him, that the bearer of it had well and faithfully served him, and on that account entreated he would properly reward him. When this was done, the grave was filled up over the corpse, the living officer and the horse, and covered with planks well nailed together. Before night, there was a considerable mound of stones piled over the grave, in memory of those whom they had interred.

When it was near Easter, I left Acre, and went to visit the king at Cæsarea, where he was employed in fortifying and inclosing it. On my arrival, I found him in conversation with the legate, who had never left him during this expedition to the holy land. On seeing me, he quitted the legate, and, coming to me, said, 'Lord de Joinville, is it really true, that I have only retained you until this ensuing Easter? Should it be so, I beg you will tell me how much I shall give you from this Easter to that of this time twelvemonths.'

I replied, that I was not come to him to make such a bargain, and that I would not take more of his money; but I would offer other terms, which were, that he should promise never to fly into a passion for any thing I should say to him, which was often the case, and I engaged, that I would keep my temper whenever he refused what I should ask.'

When he heard my terms, he burst into laughter, and said that he retained me accordingly: then, taking me by the hand, he led me before the legate to his council, and repeated the convention that had been agreed to between us. Every one was joyous on hearing it, and consequently I remained.

I will now speak of the acts of justice, and the sentences of the king, which I witnessed, during his stay at Cæsarea. The first was on a knight who had been caught in a house of ill fame: he gave him the alternative (LIV), that the prostitute with whom he had been found should lead him in his shirt through the army, with a cord tied to his private parts, one end of which cord the prostitute was to hold; or, should he not like this, he should forfeit his horse, armour and accoutrements, and be driven from and banished the king's army. The knight preferred the loss of his horse and arms, and banishment from the army. When I saw the horse was forfeited, I requested to have him for one of my knights who was a poor gentleman; but the king said my request was unreasonable, for that

the horse was well worth from fourscore to a hundred livres, which was no small sum. I answered, 'Sire, you have broken our convention in thus replying to my request.' The king laughed, and said, 'Lord de Joinville, you may say what you please, but you shall not put me in a passion the sooner.' However, I did not get the horse for my poor gentleman.

The second act of justice I witnessed was on some of my knights who, one day, had gone to hunt the animal called an antelope, which is something like a roe-buck. The knights hospitallers had sallied out to meet my knights, fought with them, and did them much mischief, for which outrage I went to lay my complaints before their commander, taking with me those of my knights who had been wounded. The commander, having heard my accusation, promised to do me justice, according to the rules and customs (LV) of the holy land, which were to make the brethren guilty of this outrage eat on their cloaks, in the presence of those who had been ill used, who should afterward carry away their cloaks.

The commander did indeed make the guilty eat on their cloaks before me, and some of my knights, but when we demanded of the commander that they should rise up, he wanted to refuse, however he was forced to it at last; for we seated ourselves to eat with the brethren, which they would not suffer, and they were obliged to rise with us to eat with the other brethren at table, leaving us their cloaks.

Another act of justice was on a king's sergeant called Goullu, who laid his hands on one of my knights, and rudely pushed him. I went to complain of this to the king, who told me, I might as well be quiet, since the sergeant had only pushed the knight. But I replied, that I would not be quiet, and would quit his service unless justice were done me; for that it was highly indecent for any sergeant to lay his hands on a knight. The king, hearing this, did me the usual justice, which was, that according to the custom of the country, the sergeant should come to my lodgings, bare footed, and in his shirt, with a sword hanging on his wrist, when having knelt before the knight whom he had injured, he was to offer the sword by the hilt, and say to him,—'Sir knight, I crave your mercy for having laid hands on you, and have brought this sword, which I now offer to you, for you to cut off my hand, if it shall so please you.' I then entreated the

knight to pardon him, which he did. Several other judgments I witnessed, that were executed according to the rights and customs of the holy land.

You have before heard how the king had sent to inform the admirals of Egypt, that unless they made him satisfaction for the outrages they had committed, he would not abide by any truce that had been made with them. Ambassadors, in consequence, had arrived from the admirals, with letters, to assure the king that they would do all he had desired.

A day was appointed for the king and these ambassadors to meet at Jaffa, when they were to promise the king, on their oaths, that they would surrender Jerusalem up to him. In return, the king and his nobles were to swear, on their part, to aid and assist the admirals against the sultan of Damascus. It happened, that on the sultan of Damascus hearing that we were become the allies of his enemies in Egypt, and that a day was appointed for the ratification of the treaties at Jaffa, he sent upwards of twenty thousand Turks to guard the passes; but this did not prevent the king from putting himself in motion to march to Jaffa.

When the count of Jaffa learnt that the king was coming, he put his castle into such a good state, that it resembled a well-defended town: at each bulwark of his castle were posted five hundred men, each with a target and penoncel with his arms. It was a beautiful sight to see; for his arms were of fine gold, with a cross-patée gules, richly worked.

We encamped on the plain, near to this castle of Jaffa, which was situated on an island near the sea shore; and the king began to fortify and inclose a village adjacent to the castle, wherever the shore would permit it. The king, by way of encouraging his workmen, said to them, 'I have more than once carried the hod myself to gain a pardon.' The admirals of Egypt were afraid to advance, on account of the passes being so well guarded by the sultan of Damascus: however, they sent to the king all the heads of the Christians that had been exposed on the walls of Cairo, in compliance with the demand which he had made for them. Those heads he caused to be buried in consecrated ground. They likewise sent him all the children they had detained, and whom they had forced to abjure their faith to God, together with an elephant, which last the king had transported to France.

As the king and his whole army were lying before Jaffa, fortifying themselves against those in the castle, news was brought the king that the army of the sultan of Damascus had taken the field, and were in ambush waiting to attack him; and that one of their admirals had advanced to reap and despoil the corn of a Karet (LVI) within three leagues of the army. The king instantly sent thither to reconnoitre, and followed in person; but the admiral no sooner saw us appear than he took to flight, pursued by some of our men full gallop. A young gentleman of our army came up with them, and gallantly unhorsed two Turks with the point of his lance, without breaking it. The admiral perceiving that this gentleman was alone, turned about, but he received such a stroke from him with his spear as wounded him desperately in the body, when the young man returned to the army.

The admirals of Egypt, learning that the king and his army were at Jaffa, sent other ambassadors to him, to appoint a day when they would meet him without fail. The king having fixed on a day, they promised faithfully to be punctual in concluding all the different businesses that were in agitation. While we were waiting for this day of meeting with the admirals from Egypt, the count de Den (LVII) came to the king, bringing with him the good knight, Arnould de Guymenè (LVIII), and his two brothers (LIX), whom, with eight other knights, the king retained in his service, and created the count de Den a knight, who was at that time but a very youth.

At the same time, the prince of Antioch (LX) and his mother waited on the king, to whom he paid much respect, and received them with every honour. The king made the prince of Antioch a knight, though but sixteen years old; but I never saw, at that age, so discreet a youth. When he was knighted, he requested the king to allow him and his mother a private audience, which being granted, he spoke as follows: ‘Sire, it is very true that my mother here present keeps me in ward, and has the power of so doing for four years to come (LXI), by which she has the enjoyment of all things, and I have nothing. I think, however, that she ought not to suffer my lands to be wasted; and this I say because my city of Antioch is falling to ruin in her hands. I therefore supplicate you, sire, to

remonstrate with her on this matter, and to prevail on her to allow me money and men that I may succour my people who are in that city, as she is bounden in justice to do.'

When the king had heard the prince's demand, he remonstrated so effectually with his mother that she complied with his wishes, and the prince returned to Antioch, where he did wonders. From that time, in honour to the king, he quartered his arms (LXII), which are gules (LXIII), with the arms of France.

As it is very praise-worthy and pleasant to relate, in order that they may be known, the deeds and virtues of any excellent prince, we will here speak of the good count of Jaffa (LXIV), sir Gautier de Brienne. He performed in his life-time most gallant deeds of chivalry, and kept possession of his county of Jaffa for many years, although continually attacked by the Egyptians, and without enjoying any revenues but what he gained in his excursions against the Saracens and other enemies of the Christian faith.

He once defeated a large body of infidels, who were transporting many bales of different sorts of filken cloths, which having taken and brought home, he divided the whole among his knights, without keeping any part for himself. His way of life was, after parting with his knights in the evening, to enter his chapel, where he was long employed in prayer and thanksgiving to his God. He afterwards went to bed to his wife, who was a wondrous good lady, and sister to the king of Cyprus.

You have before heard of the tartar prince having, through the aid of God, defeated the emperor of Persia, and his army of three hundred thousand men, with only three hundred, and afterwards driving him out of his kingdom. We now know the road that this emperor of Persia, whose name was Barbaquan (LXV), took. He fled to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and on his arrival did great damage to it; for he took the castle of Tabarie, that belonged to sir Eudes de Montbeliar (LXVI), and put to death as many of our people as he could find in the hospitia without Acre, and without Jaffa. After doing as much mischief as he could, he marched toward Babylon, to receive succours from the sultan of Babylon (LXVII), who was to join his forces and attack us. Upon this, the barons of the country assembled with the patriarchs, and determined

to offer combat to the emperor before he should form his junction with the sultan of Babylon. They sent to the sultan of la Chamelle (LXVIII) for his assistance, who was one of the best and most loyal knights in all pagan land. He came to them, and was most honourably received at Acre, which they left together, and sat down before Jaffa.

When this army arrived at Jaffa, the chiefs entreated the count Gautier to join them, and march against the emperor of Persia. He replied, that he would cheerfully do so if the patriarch would absolve him from an excommunication which he had lately denounced against him, because he would not surrender a tower of his castle of Jaffa called the Tower of the Patriarch, and which the patriarch claimed as belonging to him. The patriarch would not absolve him: nevertheless, the count did not fail to accompany us. The army was divided into three battalions: the first was given to count Gautier, the second to the sultan de la Chamelle, and the third to the patriarch and barons of the country. In the battalion of sir Gautier were the knights hospitallers.

When these three battalions had been properly arrayed, they moved forward, and advanced within sight of the enemy; who, on noticing their approach, formed their army likewise into three divisions. Count Gautier de Brienne, observing this manoeuvre, cried out, ‘My lords, what are we about? We allow our enemies time to draw up their men in array, and increase their courage by seeing us thus remain inactive. I beg of you, in the name of God, instantly to charge them.’ But not one would pay him the least attention, or advance. He then went up to the patriarch, and again demanded absolution, but it was refused him.

With the count was a most learned man, the bishop of Raine (LXIX), who had done many gallant deeds of chivalry in company with the count. The bishop said to him,—‘Do not let your conscience be uneasy at this excommunication of the patriarch, for he is very much in the wrong; and, from the powers I possess, I absolve you from it, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.’ He then added, ‘Come now, let us charge the enemy.’ Sticking spurs into their horses, they fell on the battalion of the emperor of Persia that formed the rear, but it was too numerous for those who had followed the count. Very many were slain on each

side: notwithstanding this, the count was made prisoner, for his battalion most shamefully fled, and several, from despair, threw themselves into the sea. One cause of this despair was owing to a battalion of the emperor of Persia falling on that of the sultan de la Chamelle, who fought and defended himself with such great valour, although he was much weaker in numbers than the enemy, that out of two thousand men there did not remain more than fourscore, so that he was forced to make his retreat to the castle de la Chamelle.

The emperor of Persia, concluding that his victory was complete, resolved to besiege the sultan in his castle of la Chamelle. But the sultan observing his approach, like a wary soldier, assembled his garrison, and said, ‘Gentlemen, if we allow ourselves to be besieged we are undone: it will be better therefore that we attack them.’ In consequence, he ordered out a party, badly armed, to march in the hollow of a valley, and to fall on the rear of the enemy. This was executed, and a great slaughter made of women and children. The emperor hearing a sudden noise in his rear, as he was advancing near the castle, turned about, with the intent to put a stop to it, but this was no sooner done, than the sultan made a sally with his whole garrison, and fought them so desperately, that the emperor’s army, which at first consisted of twenty-five thousand men, being attacked in front and rear, was defeated, and not one man or woman escaped being put to death.

You must know, that the emperor of Persia, before he marched to lay siege to the castle of la Chamelle, had carried the good count of Jaffa, sir Gautier de Brienne, before the city of Jaffa, and had him hung by the arms to a gallows that was in front of the castle, declaring publicly that he would never take down their count until they should have surrendered to him the castle. As the poor count was thus suspended, he cried with a loud voice to his people, never to surrender the castle for any thing they might see done to him; for should they so do, the emperor would put them all to the sword.

The emperor, perceiving he could not gain any thing more, sent count Gautier to the sultan of Babylon as a present, with the commander of the

knights hospitallers, and many other noble personages whom he had made prisoners. He ordered three hundred of his knights to escort count Gautier and the other prisoners as far as Babylon, which turned out fortunately for them; since by this they avoided being included in the butchery of the emperor of Persia and his army before the castle of la Chamelle, as has been before told.

When the merchants of Babylon heard that their fultan detained count Gautier in his prisons, they assembled, and made a clamorous petition to the fultan, that he would execute the count of Jaffa, for that he had destroyed several of their companions, and had frequently done them much mischief. In compliance with their request, the fultan ordered the body of count Gautier to be delivered to them, in order that they might take their own revenge on him. These traitorous dogs entered the prison of the count and cut him into pieces, making him thus suffer martyrdom, for which we may imagine he is now glorious in paradise.

But to return to the fultan of Damascus. He withdrew the men he had at Gadres (LXX), and, entering Egypt, made an attack on the admirals. By the fortune of war, one of his battalions defeated one of the admirals, and in another instance the chance was just the reverse. On this account, the fultan of Damascus returned to Gadres, very badly wounded in the head and other places. While he staid there, the admirals sent him ambassadors, who made a peace between them, so that we seemed a subject of mockery to both sides; for, from that time forward, we enjoyed neither peace nor truce from the fultan, nor from the admirals. You must know, that we could never muster in our army more than about fourteen hundred men at arms fit for service.

As soon as the fultan of Damascus had concluded a peace with the admirals of Egypt, he collected all his men from Gadres, and marched his whole army, amounting to twenty thousand Saracens and ten thousand Bedouins, within sight of us. They passed within two leagues, but never made any attack. The king, the master of his artillery, and the whole army were on the watch for three days, lest they should attempt to fall on us when we were unprepared.

On St John's day, next after Easter, while the king was at sermon, one of the men attached to the master of the artillery, entered the king's chapel armed, and told him that the Saracens had furrounded the master of the cross-bows in the plain. I instantly requested of the king permission to go thither, to which he consented, and gave me five hundred men at arms, whom he named. As soon as we were without the camp, and were perceived by the Saracens who were pressing round the master of the cross-bows, they retreated to an admiral that was posted on a small hillock with at least one thousand men. The battle now began between the Saracens and the company of the master of the cross-bows; and as the admiral saw his men fail, he sent thither fresh reinforcements, in like manner did the master of the cross-bows to his men. While they were thus fighting, the legate and the barons of the country told the king, it was great madness to allow me to take the field; and he thereon sent to order me back, together with the master of the cross-bows.

The Turks now retired, and we returned to the army; but many were much surprised that the Turks let us return quietly without an attack, and accounted for it by saying, that their horses were almost starved by having remained a whole year at Gades.

Some other Turks, who had left Jaffa, came to Acre, and sent to inform the lord d'Afur (LXXI), who was constable of Jerusalem, that if he did not send them fifty thousand besants, they would destroy the gardens round the town. The lord d'Afur made answer, that he would give them nothing. Upon this, they drew up their battalions, and advanced along the sands so near to the town of Acre as to be within cross-bow shot. The lord d'Afur then quitted the town and marched to the mount, where was the church-yard of St Nicholas, to defend the gardens; and when the Turks approached, a body of foot sallied out of Acre, and kept up a brisk discharge of arrows against them; but for fear of the dangers they might incur, the lord d'Afur sent them orders by a young knight from Genoa to retire within the walls.

As the Genoese knight was retiring with his body of infantry, a Saracen, suddenly moved by his courage, came boldly up to him, and said in his Saracenic tongue, that if he pleased, he would tilt with him. The knight answered with pride, that he would receive him; but, when he was on the

point of beginning his course, he perceived on his left hand eight or nine Saracens, who had halted there to see the event of the tournament. The knight therefore, instead of directing his course toward the Saracen who had offered to tilt with him, made for this troop, and, striking one of them with his lance, pierced his body through, and killed him dead on the spot. He retreated to our men pursued by the other Saracens, one of whom gave him a heavy blow on his helmet with a battle-axe. In return, the knight struck the Saracen so severely on the head that he made his turban fly off. You must know, that these turbans save them from many hard blows; and for this reason, they always wear them when they go to battle. Another Saracen thought to have given the knight a mortal blow with his turkish blade, but he twisted (LXXII) his body in suchwise that it missed him; and the knight, by a back hand blow on the Saracen's arm made his sword fall to the ground, and he then made a good retreat with the infantry. These three famous actions did the Genoese knight perform in the presence of the lord d'Asur, and before all the principal persons of the town, who were assembled on the battlements.

The Saracens withdrew from before Acre; and as they had heard the king was strengthening and enclosing Sajeete, and had but few men at arms with him, they marched thither. As soon as the king learnt their intentions, not having a sufficient force to oppose them, he retired with the master of his artillery, and as many as the place would hold, into the castle of Sajeete, which was very strong, and well inclosed: few, however, could be lodged within it from the smallness of its extent. The Saracens arrived soon after, and entered Sajeete without any opposition, for the walls were not then finished, and slaughtered full two thousand of the poorer sort of our army: having done this, and pillaged the town, they marched off toward Damascus.

The king was much grieved on hearing that the Saracens had destroyed all his works at Sajeete, but he could not help it; on the contrary, the barons of the country were rejoiced at it; and the reason was, that the king intended, after he had finished at Sajeete, to inclose a mound, on which formerly had stood a castle in the time of the Macabees, and which was on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The barons opposed its being inclosed,

because it was five leagues from the sea, and they said, and said truly, that it could never be victualled without certain risk of the provision being seized on the road thither by the Saracens, as they were more numerous. The barons remonstrated with the king, that it would be preferable in point of honour, and in all other respects, to repair Sajeete, than to undertake a large and new building so far from the sea. To this the king assented.

During the king's stay at Jaffa, he was told that the sultan of Damascus would allow him to visit Jerusalem in perfect security. The king would most willingly have gone thither, but his great council dissuaded him from it, as it would leave the city in the hands of the enemy. The lords of the country likewise were unwilling to consent to this, and cited to him the example of king Philip, who, when he departed from Acre on his return to France, left the command of his whole army to Hugh duke of Burgundy, grandfather to the duke lately deceased (LXXIII).

In those times, and when duke Hugh of Burgundy and king Richard of England were residing in Acre, they received intelligence that they might take Jerusalem on the morrow, if they pleased; for that a large army of knights from Egypt were gone to the assistance of the sultan of Damascus, in his war at Neffa (LXXIV) against the sultan of that place. The duke of Burgundy and the king were soon prepared to march thither; and when they had divided their army the king of England led the first battalion, followed by the duke of Burgundy, and by such of the king of France's army as had remained after his departure. But when they were near to Jerusalem, and on the point of taking it, intelligence came from the duke of Burgundy's division, that he had turned back merely out of envy, and to prevent its being said, that the English had taken Jerusalem. As this intelligence was discussing, one of the king of England's officers cried out, 'Sire, fire, only come hither, and I will shew you Jerusalem.' But the king, throwing down his arms, said with tears, and with hands uplifted to heaven, 'Ah! Lord God, I pray thee that I may never see thy holy city of Jerusalem, since things thus happen, and since I cannot deliver it from the hands of thine enemies.'

This example was laid before the king, St Louis, because he was the greatest monarch in Christendom (LXXV); and if he should perform a

pilgrimage to Jerusalem, without delivering it from the enemies of God; every other king, who might wish to make a similar pilgrimage, would think he had amply performed it without seeking to do more than the king of France had done.

This Richard, king of England, performed such deeds of prowess, when he was in the holy land, that the Saracens, on seeing their horses frightened at a shadow or bush, cried out to them, ‘What! dost think king Richard is there?’ This they were accustomed to say, from the many and many times he had conquered and vanquished them. In like manner, when the children of the Turks or Saracens cried, their mothers said to them, ‘Hush, hush! or I will bring king Richard of England to you;’ and from the fright these words caused they were instantly quiet.

I must say something more of this Hugh duke of Burgundy. He was personally brave and chivalrous, but never reputed very wise toward God or man; as appears from what has just been told of him; and, in allusion to him, the great king Philip said, when he was told that the count John de Châlons (LXXVI) had a son whom he had christened Hugh, ‘May God, out of his goodness, make him a *preuomme* as well as a *preudomme* (LXXVII)!’ There is much difference between these two characters, for many a knight among the Christians and Saracens is bold enough, but of little discretion, who neither fears nor loves God; and it was said that God had been very gracious to that knight, who, by his actions, shewed he united both these qualities. But the person of whom I am speaking might well be called a *preudomme*, for he was sufficiently bold and personally enterprising, but not mentally so, for he feared not to sin, nor to behave ill toward his God.

Of the immense sums it cost the king to inclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak, for they were countless. He inclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were twenty-four towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scowered, and kept clean both within and without. There were three gates, one of which the legate was ordered to build, as well as the wall that connected it with the next gate. To form some estimate of what the king’s expenses might have been, I was once asked by the legate how much I thought the gate and wall he had erected

cost him. When I replied, that I estimated the gate at five hundred livres, and the wall three hundred, he told me I was very far from the amount, and added, that as God might help him, the gate and wall had cost him full thirty thousand livres. We may guess from this sum how great was the expense for the remainder.

When the king had finished the fortifications of Jaffa, he was desirous of doing the same to Sajeète, and repairing its walls to put it in a similar state to what it had been in before the Saracens destroyed it. In consequence, he gave orders for the march of the army thither on the festival of St Peter and St Paul. While the king and his army were before the castle of Afur, he summoned his council in the evening, and told them he was very anxious to take from the Saracens the city of Naples (LXXVIII), which is called in the holy Scriptures Samaria.

The knights-templars, barons and admirals of the country, advised him to it, as what he was in duty bound to do; but added, that he ought not personally expose himself there, for fear of any unfortunate accident, saying that if he were made prisoner or killed, the whole country would be lost.

The king replied, that he would not allow his army to march thither without his accompanying it, and from this disagreement the enterprize was no more thought of. We continued our march along the sands to Acre, where the king and his whole army were lodged that night.

On the morrow, a great troop of Armenians, who were on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came to me, and entreated, through a latin interpreter, that as I was about the king's person, I would shew them the good king Louis. I went to the king, and told him that a large body of people from upper Armenia, going to Jerusalem, were very desirous to see him. He burst into laughter, and bade me bring them to him. I instantly obeyed, and they followed me eagerly. When they had seen him, they recommended him to God, as he did the same to them in return.

The next day the king and his army marched to a place called Passe-poulain, about a league distant from Acre, where are many beautiful springs of water, with which the sugar-canes are irrigated.

When I was lodged, one of my knights said to me, 'Sir, you are now much better quartered than you were before Saint-Sur.' Upon which another

of my knights, who had fixed on my lodgings the preceding day, replied, ' You are too fool-hardy in thus blaming me to my lord;' and, having said this, he sprang on the other knight, and seized him by the hair. Astonished at the presumption of the knight, who had thus in my presence seized his companion, I ran to them, and gave the aggressor a hard blow between the shoulders, which made him quit his hold of the knight's hair. I then ordered him to quit my lodgings instantly, for that never more, as God might help me, should he be of my household.

The knight went away making great moan to sir Gilles le Brun, then constable of France, who shortly after came to me to entreat I would take my knight again, for that he was sorely repentant of his folly. I told him I could not do any thing until the legate had absolved me from my oath. The constable then went to the legate, told him the case, and requested him to give me absolution from the oath I had sworn; but the legate said, he had not the power to absolve me, seeing that I was justified in making such an oath, and that the knight had richly deserved it by his conduct. This story I wished to introduce into my book, as an example to all not to make any oaths without very sufficient grounds for so doing; for the wise man says, that those who swear on every occasion will probably as often forswear.

On the day following, the king marched his army before the city of Sur, which is called Thiry in the Bible. When there, the king was pressed to march and take a city hard by called Belinas: his council advised him to it, but not to go thither in person, to which, with some difficulty he was persuaded. It was determined, that the count d'Anjou should march thither, with sir Philip de Montfort, the lord of Sur (LXXIX), sir Gilles le Brun constable of France, sir Peter the chamberlain, the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, and their men at arms. During the night we armed ourselves, and a little before day saw the plain in which was situated the city of Belinas (LXXX), called in Scripture Cæsarea Philippi. There is within the city a beautiful fountain named le Jour, and on the plain before the place, another fine spring, called Dain. From these two springs issue rivulets which unite at some distance and form the river Jordan (LXXXI), in which our Lord JESUS CHRIST was baptised.

By the advice of the count d'Anjou, and the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, it was ordered, that the battalion of the king, in which I then was, with my knights, as were also the forty knights from Champagne, whom the king had put under my command, sir Geoffrey de Sergines, and the other brave men that were with us, should march between the castle and town; that the barons and landholders (LXXXII) of the country should enter the town on the left, the Hospitallers on the right, and the master of the Templars, with his division, was to enter the place from the road by which we had come. Each body was now in motion; and as we approached the back parts of the city we found many of our countrymen dead, whom the Saracens had killed and thrown over the walls. You must know the line we were to take was very dangerous; for, in the first place, there were three walls to pass, and a bank so steep and broken, that no one could keep his saddle. On the top of this bank, which we were to ascend, were a large body of Turks on horseback. Perceiving that our people were at one place breaking down the walls, I wished to advance towards them skirmishing. As I was doing this, one of our men attempted to leap the wall, but he fell under his horse, which was also thrown down. When I saw this I dismounted, and, taking my horse by the bridle, ascended boldly towards the Turks, but, as God willed it, they fled and left us the place. On the top there was a road cut in the rock which led to the city; and the Saracens within the place no sooner saw us masters of the rock than they took to flight, and gave up the city without opposition to our army.

While I was on the top of this mount, the master of the Templars, hearing that I was in great danger, hastened to me. I had with me the Germans (LXXXIII), who, when they saw the Turks fly for the castle, which was at some distance from the town, began to pursue them, in spite of me, and although I cried out to them they were doing wrong, for we had accomplished what we had been ordered to perform.

The castle was seated above the town, but without the suburbs, and nearly half a league up mount Libanus. There are very high rocks to pass before you arrive at the castle; and when the Germans found they were very rashly pursuing the Turks, who had gained the castle, well knowing all

the turnings of the rocks, they returned to rejoin us; but the Saracens, observing them retreating, dismounted, and, falling on them as they descended the rocks, gave them many severe blows with their battle-axes, inasmuch that they drove them back in disorder to where I was. My men seeing the mischief the Saracens did to the Germans, whom they closely pursued, began to be frightened, and to take alarm; but I told them that if they quitted their position I would break them, and prevent them ever after from receiving the king's pay. They replied,—‘ Lord de Joinville, we are much worse off than you are; for you are on horseback, and can escape when and where you please; but we who are on foot are in the greatest danger of being killed, should the Saracens come hither.’ Upon this I dismounted among them, to give them more courage, and sent my war-horse to the battalion of the Templars, which was a long cross-bow shot distant.

As the Saracens were thus driving the Germans before them, one of my knights received a bolt from a cross-bow in the throat that laid him dead at my feet, upon which another of my knights, called sir Hugh d'Escoffé, uncle to the dead knight, desired I would assist him to carry his nephew down from the mount, that he might be buried; but I refused, for the knight had joined the Germans in pursuing the Saracens, contrary to my will and orders. If, therefore, he suffered for it I was no way to blame. So soon as sir John de Valenciennes (LXXXIV) heard the danger we were in, and that my division was in disorder, he hastened to sir Olivier de Termes (LXXXV), and the other captains from Languedoc (LXXXVI), and addressed them, ‘ My lords, I beg of you, and indeed command, in the king's name, that you join me to assist the seneschal of Champagne.’

A knight, whose name was sir William de Beaumont, came to him, and said that I was killed; but, notwithstanding this, the good sir Olivier de Termes did not the more spare himself, for he was determined to know the truth, whether I was alive or dead, that he might give the king certain information of it, and gallantly ascended the mount, when I went to him. Sir Olivier, when on the mount, saw the great danger we were in, and that we could not descend the way we had got up, he therefore gave us good

advice, and made us descend a slope of the hill, as if we were going to Damascus, saying that the Saracens would suppose, by this manoeuvre, that we meant to fall on their rear. When we had got into the plain, sir Olivier ordered a large heap of corn, that was stacked on the ground, to be set on fire, and by this means, and our own exertions, through the good counsel of sir Olivier de Termes, we escaped, and arrived on the morrow in safety at Sajeète, where the king was. We found the good and holy man had ordered the bodies of those Christians that were slain to be buried, and that he himself had assisted in carrying their corpses to the grave. Some of the bodies were in such a state of corruption, that divers of the carriers were obliged to stop their nostrils, but the good king never did this. When we came to him, he had caused our lodgings and quarters to be ready prepared for us.

During this time (LXXXVII), being one day in the presence of the king, I asked his leave to make a pilgrimage to our lady of Tortosa (LXXXVIII), which was then very much in request. Great numbers of pilgrims went thither daily, for it was said to have been the first altar erected in honour of the mother of God. Our lady performed there many wonderful miracles; and one in particular on a poor man that was a demoniac, having lost his senses, for he was possessed by a wicked spirit. It happened, that one day he was brought to this altar of our Lady at Tortosa; and as his friends who had brought him were praying to our Lady to cure him, and restore his senses, the devil whom the poor creature had in his body replied,—‘ Our Lady is not here but in Egypt, whither she is gone to aid the king of France and the Christians, who land this day on the holy land, to make war on the pagans, who are on horseback to receive them.’

What the devil had uttered was put down in writing; and when it was brought to the legate, who was with the king of France, he said to me that it was on that very day we had arrived in Egypt; and I am sure the good lady Mary was of the utmost service to us.

The king very readily gave me leave to make this pilgrimage, and at the same time charged me to buy for him a hundred weight of different coloured camlets, which he was desirous to give to the Cordeliers on his return to

France. From this, I guessed that it would not be long before he set out on his return thither.

When I arrived at Triple*, the end of my pilgrimage, I made my offerings to God, and to our Lady of Tortosa, and afterward bought the camlets according to the king's orders. My knights, seeing me thus occupied, asked what I intended doing with so many camlets? I induced them to believe, that I made these purchases to gain a profit from re-selling them.

The prince of that country (LXXXIX), hearing of our arrival, and knowing that I was come from the king's army, gave us a most honourable reception, and offered us magnificent presents. We returned him our most humble thanks, but would accept of nothing but a few relics, which I brought to the king with his camlets.

You must know, that the queen had heard that I had been on a pilgrimage, and had brought back some relics. I sent her by one of my knights four pieces of the camlets which I had purchased; and when the knight entered her apartment, she cast herself on her knees before the camlets, that were wrapped up in a towel, and the knight, seeing the queen do this, flung himself on his knees also. The queen, observing him, said, 'Rise, sir knight, it does not become you to kneel, who are the bearer of such holy relics.' My knight replied, that it was not relics, but camlets, that he had brought as a present from me. When the queen and her ladies heard this, they burst into laughter, and the queen said, 'Sir knight, the deuce take your lord for having made me kneel to a parcel of camlets.' (xc)

Soon after the king's arrival at Sajeete, he received the news of the death of the queen his mother (xci), which caused him such grief that he was two days in his chamber without suffering any one to see him. On the third, he sent one of his valets to seek me; and, on my presenting myself, he extended his arms, and said, 'Ah, seneschal, I have lost my mother!'

'Sir,' replied I, 'I am not surprised at it, for you know there must come a time for her death; but I am indeed greatly so, that you who

* Q. Tripoli.

are considered as so great a prince should so outrageously grieve; for you know,' continued I, 'that the wise man says, whatever grief the valiant man suffers in his mind, he ought not to shew it on his countenance, nor let it be publicly known, for he that does so gives pleasure to his enemies and sorrow to his friends.'

I thus appeased him a little; and he gave orders that most magnificent religious services should be performed in the country in which he then was, for the salvation of the soul of the late queen. He sent likewise to France a load of jewels and precious stones to the national churches, with letters from him to entreat they would pray to God for him, and for the soul of the late queen his mother (XCII).

Not long after this the king attended to his affairs, but was undetermined whether to remain longer where he was, or to return to France. While he was thus hesitating, and during his stay at Sajeète, which he had almost inclosed, he called the legate, who had accompanied him, and bade him make many processions, requesting God to enlighten him, and let him know his will, whether he should return to France, or remain in Palestine. Some little time after these processions were over, the principal persons of the country and myself were going to amuse ourselves in a meadow, when the king called me to him. The legate was with him, who said to me, in the presence of the king,—'Seneschal, the king is very much satisfied with the good and agreeable services you have done him, and earnestly wishes for your honour and advancement. He orders me to tell you, as he knows it will give you much pleasure at heart, that his intention is to return to France on this side Easter that is coming.'

I replied, 'May our Lord induce him to act alway according to his will.' When I had said this, the legate left the king, and desired I would accompany him to his lodgings, to which I willingly assented. He made me enter his closet, when, bursting into tears, he clasped my hands, and said,—'Seneschal, I am greatly rejoiced, and thank God for that you have thus escaped from the imminent dangers you have been in during your stay in this country; and, on the other hand, I am much concerned and grieved at my heart, that I shall be forced to quit such good and religious companions, to return among such a set of wretches as the court of Rome

consists of (xciii). But I will tell you, that my intention is to remain one year, after your departure, at Acre, to expend all my money in inclosing the suburbs of that place, which I shall continue to do as long as my means shall last, to avoid having any reproaches made against me.'

On my return to the king the next day, he commanded me to arm myself and my knights on the morrow. When I was armed, I asked him what was his pleasure for us to do. He then said, to escort the queen and his children to Sur, which was full seven leagues distant. I would not say any thing against this, in spite of the great dangers we should run, for at that time we had neither peace nor truce with the Egyptians, nor with those of Damascus. We set out, and, through the mercy of God, arrived in the evening at Sur without any accident or hindrance.

Soon after the patriarch and barons of the country who had for a length of time attended on the king, seeing that he had inclosed Sajeete with high walls and large towers, and that the ditches were well cleaned within and without, waited on him to render him their most humble thanks and praise for the great good and the honour he had conferred on Palestine; for he had rebuilt, from the ground, Sajeete, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and had greatly strengthened the city of Acre with high walls and towers.

They addressed him as follows: 'Sire, we perceive very clearly that your stay with us cannot be much prolonged, with any kind of profit to the kingdom of Jerusalem. We would therefore advise you to go to Acre, where you may make your preparations for departure during this ensuing Lent, so that you may secure a safe passage to France.'

The king followed their council, and went to Sur, whither we had escorted the queen and his family, and at the beginning of Lent we all arrived at Acre.

During the whole of Lent, the king was making his fleet ready for his return to France, which consisted of fourteen ships and galleys. On the vigil of St Mark after Easter, the king and queen embarked on board their ship, and put to sea, having a favourable wind for their departure. The king told me, he was born on St Mark's day; and I replied, that he might well say he had been born again on St Mark's day, in thus escaping from such a pestilent land, where he had remained so long.

On the Saturday following, we arrived at the island of Cyprus; and there was a mountain hard by the island, called the Mountain of the Cross, which marked at a great distance the situation of the island. On this Saturday, about vespers, there came on such a thick fog from the land that our sailors thought themselves at a greater distance from the shore than they were, for they lost sight of this mountain; and it happened, that as they were eager to reach the shore, they struck on the extremity of a sand bank which was clear of the island: fortunately it was so, for had we not struck on this bank, we should have run against some dangerous half-covered rocks, and should have been in the utmost peril of being all drowned (xciv). We were even now in much danger. All thought themselves lost, and that the vessel must be wrecked; but a sailor, casting the lead, found we were no longer aground, on which every one rejoiced and returned thanks to God.

Many on board were kneeling before the holy sacrament that was on the ship's altar, adoring and begging pardon of God, for each expected nothing but death. When day appeared, we saw the rocks on which we should have struck, had it not been for the good fortune of grounding on the sand bank. In the morning, the king sent for the principal of the ships' captains, who brought with them four divers, fellows who dive naked to the bottom of the sea like fish. The captains ordered the divers to plunge into the sea at this place, who did so, and passed under the king's ship. On their re-appearance, on the opposite side to where they had gone down, we heard each ask the other what he had found. They all reported, that on the part where our vessel had struck on the sand three fathoms of its keel had been beaten off, which account surprised very much the king, and all who heard it. The king asked the mariners for their advice on the occasion, who replied,—‘Sire, if you will believe us, you must remove from this ship to another. We know well, that since the keel has suffered such damage, all the ribs of the vessel will have been started, and we very much fear that she will be unable to bear the sea, should there be any wind, without danger of sinking. When you sailed from France, we saw an accident just similar happen to a vessel which had struck on a bank; and when she was

afterward in a gale of wind she could not withstand it, but opened her sides and was lost : all on board perished but a young woman, with an infant child in her arms, who had accidentally remained on one of the ship's timbers, and was saved.'

The king having listened to what the mariners said, and the example they brought, I testified to the truth of it; for I had seen the woman and child, who had arrived at the city of Baphe (xcv), in the house of the count de Joigny, who had all care taken of them for the honour of God.

The king summoned his council to deliberate on what was to be done, and they unanimously agreed to what the mariners had proposed; but the king called the captains again to him, and asked them, on the faith and loyalty which they owed him, whether, if the ship were their own, and full of merchandise, they would quit it. They all said they would not; for that they would prefer risking their lives to the loss of such a vessel, which would cost them from forty to fifty thousand livres. 'Why then,' said the king, 'do you advise me to quit her?' They replied,—'Sire, you and we are two different sorts of things; for there is no sum, however great, that can be had in compensation for the loss of yourself, the queen, and your three children; and we will never advise that you should put yourself in such risk.'

'Now,' said the king, 'I will tell you what I think of the matter. Suppose I quit this ship, there are five or six hundred persons on board, who will remain in the island of Cyprus for fear of the danger that may happen to them should they stay on board; and there is not,' added the king, 'one among them who is more attached to his own person than I am myself, and if we land they will lose all hopes of returning to their own country. I therefore declare, I will rather put myself, the queen and my children, in this danger, under the good providence of God, than make such numbers of people suffer, as are now with me.'

The great mischief that would have happened, if the king had landed, was very apparent, from what befel that puissant knight sir Olivier de Termes, who was on board the king's ship. Sir Olivier was one of the bravest knights, and most enterprising men of all I was acquainted with in the holy land: he was, however, afraid of remaining on board, and therefore

went on shore; but, rich and mighty as he was, he met with so many difficulties, that it was upwards of a year and a half before he could again rejoin the king. Now, if so rich a man found so many difficulties, what would the number of inferior personages have done, who could not have money to defray their expenses and support themselves?

After God had saved us from this peril, near the island of Cyprus, another befel us; for there arose so violent a storm, that in spite of all our efforts we were driven back again to the same island, after we had long left it. The sailors cast four anchors in vain, for the vessel could not be stopped until they had thrown out the fifth, which held. All the partitions of the king's cabin were obliged to be destroyed; and so high was the wind, that no one dared stay therein for fear of being blown overboard.

The queen came into the king's chamber, thinking to meet him there, but found only sir Gilles le Brun, constable of France, and myself, who were lying down. On seeing her, I asked what she wished. She said, she wanted the king, to beg he would make some vows to God and his saints, that we might be delivered from this storm, for that the sailors had assured her we were in the greatest danger of being drowned. I replied to her,—‘Madam, vow to make a pilgrimage to my lord saint Nicholas, at Varengeville, and I promise you, that God will restore us in safety to France.’ ‘Ah! seneschal,’ answered she, ‘I am afraid the king will not permit me to make this pilgrimage for the accomplishment of my vow.’ ‘At least, then, madam, promise him, that if God shall restore you in safety to France, you will give him a silver ship of the value of five marcs, for the king, yourself, and your children; and if you shall do this, I assure you that, at the entreaties of St Nicholas, God will grant you a successful voyage; and I vow for myself, that, on my return to Joinville, I will make a pilgrimage to his shrine bare-footed.’

Upon this, she made a vow of a silver ship to St Nicholas, and demanded that I would be her pledge for her due performance of it, to which I assented. She shortly after came to us, to say that God, at the intercession of St Nicholas, had delivered us from this peril.

On the queen's return to France, she caused the ship to be made that she had vowed, and had introduced in it the king, herself, her three children,

with the failors, maft and fteerage, all of filver, and the ropes of filver thread. This fhip fhe fent me with orders to convey it to the fhine of my lord Saint Nicholas, which I did. I faw it there a long time afterward, when we conducted the king's fifter (xcvi) to the emperor of Germany.

We will return to our principal fubject, and continue the account of our voyage home. When the king perceived we had efaped from thefe two perils, he rofe from a bench of the veffel, and faid to me,—‘ Now fee, fenefchal, if God has not clearly manifested his great power, when by a blaft of one of thefe four winds, the king, the queen, our children, and fo many other perfons, might have been drowned? For our deliverance from this danger, we ought to pay him our fincereft thanks.’

The good king talked inceffantly of the eminent danger we had been in; and of the power which God had difplayed. He faid to me, ‘ Senefchal, when fuch tribulations befall mankind, or other misfortunes of ficknefs, the faints fay they are threatenings from our Lord. I therefore maintain, that the perils we have been in are the fame kind of threatening from our Lord; who might fay, ‘ Now confider how very eafily I might have fuffered you all to be drowned, had I fo willed it.’ For this reafon,’ continued the holy king, ‘ we fhould examine ourfelves well that there be nothing in our conduct difpleafing to God, our Creator; and whenever we may find there is any thing wrong, we ought infantly to make ourfelves clear of it. When we thus act, God will love us and preferve us from all perils; but, fhould we follow a contrary behaviour after having noticed thefe menaces, he will afflict us with fome grievous malady, perhaps death, and permit us to defcend to hell, without hope of redemption.’

The good and holy king continued,—‘ Senefchal, that good man Job faid to God, ‘ Lord God, wherefore doft thou afflict us? for if thou deftroy us, thou wilt not be the poorer; and if thou wert to call us all to thee, thou wouldft not be more powerful nor more rich.’ Whence we may fee,’ added he, ‘ that the menaces of God are uttered againft us from his great love to us, and for our welfare, not for his own; that we may the more clearly difcover our faults and demerits, and purify our confciences from all that may be difpleafing to him. Let us therefore act in this manner, and we fhall be the wifer and better for it.’

After having taken water on board at the island of Cyprus, and some other necessary articles, we again set sail when the tempest had ceased, and saw another island called Lampedosa (xcvii). We landed on it, and caught a great many rabbits. We found there a hermitage among the rocks, with a handsome garden planted with olives, figs, vines, and other fruit-trees, with a fine spring of water, that ran through it. The king and his company went to the upper part of the garden, where was an oratory, the roof of which was painted white (xcviii) with a red cross in the center. In another chamber, more retired, we found two dead bodies with their hands on their breasts, and only the ribs which held them together. These bodies were laid towards the east, as is the usual custom at interments.

When we had seen and examined every thing, the king and his company returned on ship-board; but one of our sailors was missing, and the captain, after considering awhile, said he guessed who it was, and that it was one who was desirous of living there henceforward as a hermit. The king, hearing this, ordered three sacks of biscuit to be left on the shore of this island, in order that the sailor might find them, and they might serve for his sustenance (xcix).

Shortly after, an accident happened on board the ship of the lord d'Argones, one of the most powerful lords of Provence. He was annoyed one morning in bed by the rays of the sun darting on his eyes through a hole in the vessel, and calling one of his esquires, ordered him to stop the hole. The esquire, finding he could not stop it withinside, attempted to do it without, but his foot slipping he fell into the sea. The ship kept on her way, and there was not the smallest boat along side to succour him. We, who were in the king's ship, saw him, but as we were half a league off, we thought it was some piece of furniture that had fallen into the sea, for the esquire did not attempt to save himself, nor to move. When we came nearer, one of the king's boats took him up, and brought him on board our vessel, when he related his accident. We asked him why he did not attempt to save himself by swimming, nor call out to the other ships for help. He said he had no occasion so to do, for, as he fell into the sea, he exclaimed,

‘ Our Lady of Valbert (c) !’ and that she had supported him by his shoulders until the king’s galley came to him. In honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, and to perpetuate this miracle, I had it painted in my chapel of Joinville, and also on the windows of the church of Blecourt.

At the end of ten weeks that we had been at sea, we arrived in the port of Hieres, in front of the castle that belonged to the count de Provence, afterward king of Sicily.

The queen, and the whole of the council, advised the king to disembark there, as it was on his brother’s land; but he declared he would not land before he came to Aigues Mortes (ci), which was his own territory. On this difference, the king detained us there Wednesday and Thursday, without any one being able to prevail on him to land. On the Friday, as he was seated on one of the benches of the ship, he called me to him, and demanded my opinion, whether he ought to land or not. I replied; ‘ Sire, it seems to me that you ought to land; for madame de Bourbon, being once in this very port, and unwilling to land, put again to sea, to disembark at Aigues Mortes, but she was tossed about for upwards of seven weeks before she could make that harbour.’ Upon this, the king consented to follow my advice, and landed at Hieres, to the great joy of the queen and all on board.

The king, the queen, and their children, took up their residence in the castle of Hieres until horses should be provided for the further continuance of their journey. The abbot of Cluny, who was afterward bishop of Olive (cii), sent the king two palfreys; one for himself, and the other for the queen. It was said at the time, that they were each well worth five hundred livres. When the king had accepted of these two fine horses, the abbot requested an audience of him on the morrow, on the subject of his affairs. This was granted, and the next day the abbot conversed a long time with the king, who listened to him very attentively.

When the abbot was gone, I asked the king if he would answer a question I wished to put to him. On his replying in the affirmative, I said, ‘ Sire, is it not true that you have thus long listened to the abbot for the sake of the horses he gave you?’ The king said, it was certainly so. I then

continued, that I had asked the question, that he might forbid, on his return to France, those of his council, on their oaths, to receive the smallest gifts from any who had business to transact in his presence; 'for be assured,' added I, 'that if they take presents, they will listen and attend to the givers, even longer than you have done to the abbot of Cluny.' The king, calling his council, told them the request I had made, and the reason for my making it. His council, however, said, that I had given very excellent advice.

While we were at Hieres we heard of a very good man, a cordelier friar, who went about the country preaching: his name was father Hugh. The king being desirous of hearing and seeing him, the day he came to Hieres, we went out to meet him, and saw a great company of men and women following him on foot. On his arrival in the town, the king directed him to preach, and his first sermon was against the clergy, whom he blamed for being in such numbers with the king, saying they were not in a situation to save their souls, or that the Scriptures lied. This was true, for the Scriptures do say, that a monk cannot live out of his cloister, without falling into deadly sins, any more than fish can live out of water without dying. The reason is plain; for the religious, who follow the king's court, eat and drink many meats and wines which they would not do were they resident in their cloisters, and this luxurious living induces them more to sin than if they led the austere life of a convent.

He afterwards addressed the king, and pointed out to him, that if he wished to live beloved and in peace with his people, he must be just and upright. He said, he had carefully perused the Bible and other holy books, and had always found, that among princes, whether Christians or infidels, no kingdoms had ever been excited to war against their lords, but through want of proper justice being done to the subject. 'The king, therefore,' added the cordelier, 'must carefully have justice administered equally to every one of his subjects, that he may live among them in peace and tranquillity to his last day, and that God may not deprive him of his kingdom with dishonour and shame.'

The king had him several times entreated to live with him during his stay in Provence; but he replied, that he would not on any account remain

in the company of the king. This cordelier only staid with us one day, and on the morrow departed. I have since heard that his body is buried at Marfeilles, where it performs many fine miracles.

After this, the king set out from Hieres, and came to the city of Aix in Provence, in honour of the blessed Magdalen, who is interred a short day's journey off. We visited the place of le Baume, which is a deep cave in a rock, wherein, it is said, the holy Magdalen resided for a long time as an hermitage. We passed the Rhône at Beaucaire; and when the king was in his own realm, I took my leave of him, and went to my niece the dauphiness of Viennois (ciii), thence to my uncle's the count de Châlons (civ), and to the count of Burgundy his son, whence I went to Joinville.

Having made a short stay there, I set out to meet the king, whom I found at Soissons. On my arrival, he received me with such joy as surprised every one. I met there count John of Brittany, and his wife, the daughter of king Thibault. On account of the dispute that was between the king of Navarre and the heiress of Champagne (cv), for some claims the king of Navarre pretended to have on the country of Champagne, the king ordered them all to Paris, that each side might be heard, and justice properly done between them.

At this parliament, king Thibault of Navarre demanded in marriage Isabella, the king's daughter (cvi); and they had brought me with them that I might in suitable terms make this proposal of marriage, for they had observed the high favour I was in with the king, when at Soissons. I went purposely to speak on this subject to the king, who replied, 'Seneschal, go first and make peace with the count of Brittany; and when that is done, we will settle the marriage.' I answered, 'Sire, you should not neglect this matter on any account.' But he said, he would not marry his daughter without the consent of his barons, nor until peace were concluded with the count of Brittany.

I immediately returned to queen Margaret of Navarre, the king her son, and their council, to tell them the king's answer: which having heard, they set about concluding a peace with all diligence with the count of Brittany; and when that was done, the king gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to

the king of Navarre. The wedding was celebrated with pomp and magnificence at Melun, whence king Thibault conducted her to Provins, where they were most splendidly received by the barons.

I will now speak of the state and mode of living of the king, after his return from Palestine. In regard to his dress, he would never more wear minever (cvii) or squirrel furs, nor scarlet robes, nor gilt spurs, nor use stirrups. His dress was of camlet or persian, and the fur trimmings of his robes were the skins of garnutes (cviii) or the legs of hares. He was very sober at his meals, and never ordered any thing particular or delicate to be cooked for him, but took patiently whatever was set before him. He mixed his wine with water according to its strength, and drank but one glass. He had commonly at his meals many poor persons behind his chair, whom he fed, and then ordered money to be given to them. After dinner, he had his chaplains who said grace for him; and when any noble person was at table with him, he was an excellent companion, and very friendly. He was considered as by far the wisest of any in his council; and as a proof of his wisdom, whenever any thing occurred that demanded immediate attention, he never waited for his council, but gave a speedy and decided answer.

Soon after, the good king St Louis negotiated so successfully that he prevailed on the king and queen of England to come to France with their children, to conclude a peace. His council, however, were much against this peace, and said to him, 'Sire, we marvel greatly how you can consent to the king of England keeping so large a tract of your territories, which your predecessors have conquered from him for ill conduct, and which it seems you have not duly considered, nor will he be any way grateful for it.'

To this the king answered, that he was well aware the king of England and his predecessor had most justly forfeited the lands he held, and that he never meant to restore any thing but what he was in justice bounden to do. But he should make this restoration in order to confirm and strengthen that union which ought to exist between them and their children, who were cousins-german. The king added, 'And by thus acting, I think I shall do a very good work; for, in the first place, I shall establish a peace, and

shall then make him my vassal, which he is not yet, as he has never done me homage.'

The king, St Louis, was the man in the world who laboured most to maintain peace and concord among his subjects, more especially between the princes and barons of his realm, in particular between my uncle, the count de Châlons (cix), and his son, the count of Burgundy, who carried on a violent war after our return from Palestine. To make a peace between the father and son, he sent several of his council, at his own costs and charges, into Burgundy, and took such pains, that at length he concluded a peace between them. Through his interference, in like manner, was peace made between the second king Thibault of Navarre, and the counts of Châlons and Burgundy, who carried on a very disastrous war; but he sent part of his council thither, who appeased their differences, and concluded a peace.

After this peace, another serious war broke out between count Thibault de Bar (cx) and the count of Luxembourg, who had married his sister. They fought a duel with each other below Pigny, when the count de Bar made prisoner the count de Luxembourg, and won the castle of Ligny, that belonged to the latter in right of his wife. To put an end to this war, the king, at his own expense, sent thither his chamberlain, the lord Perron, in whom, of all his courtiers, he put the greatest confidence, who, in conjunction with the king, laboured so effectually that peace was restored.

His council sometimes reproved him for the great pains he took to make up the quarrels of foreigners, for that he acted wrong in preventing them from making war on each other, as peace would in consequence be more securely maintained. The king, in answer, told them, they did not advise what was right; 'for,' added he, 'if the princes and great barons, whose territories join mine, perceive that I suffer them to make war on each other with indifference, they may say among themselves, that the king of France allows them thus to act, through malice and ingratitude, and on that account they may unite and make an attack on my kingdom, which may suffer from it; and I shall, besides, incur the anger of God, who expressly says, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'

The Burgundians and Lorrainers perceiving so much goodness in the king, and the great pains he took to keep them at peace, had such an

affection for him that they were willing to obey his commands, and with much pleasure pleaded their private disputes in his presence. I saw them frequently come on this business to Paris, to Rheims, to Melun and elsewhere, as the king might happen to be.

The good king loved God and the blessed Virgin with such sincerity, that he severely punished every one that was guilty of villanous swearing (CXI), or of having used any indecent or beastly expression. I saw him once at Cæsarea order a silversmith to be pillored (CXII) in his shirt and breeches, to the disgrace of the criminal; and I heard that, after his return from Palestine, while I was at Joinville, he caused a citizen of Paris to be burnt, and marked with a hot iron on the nose and under lip, for having blasphemed. I heard also, from the king's own mouth, that he would willingly be seared with a red-hot iron, and he was little able to bear such an operation, if he could banish from his kingdom all blasphemies and swearings.

I have been constantly with him for twenty-two years, but never in my life, for all the passions I have seen him in, did I hear him swear or blaspheme God, his holy mother, or any of the saints. When he wished to affirm any thing, he said, 'Truly it is so;' or, 'In truth, it is not so.' It was very clear that on no earthly consideration would he deny his God; for when the sultan and admirals of Egypt wanted to make that the condition, should he break the treaty, he would never consent; and when he was told this was the last proposal of the Turks, he replied, that he would rather die than commit such a crime.

I never heard him name or mention the word devil (CXIII), if it was not in some book that made it necessary; and it is very disgraceful to the princes and kingdom of France to suffer it, and hear the name; for you will see that in any dispute one will not say three words to another in abuse, but he will add, 'Go to the devil,' or other bad words. Now it is very shocking thus to send man or woman to the devil, when they are by baptism become the creatures of God. In my castle of Joinville, whoever makes use of this word is instantly buffeted, and the frequency of bad language is abolished there.

The holy king once asked me if I washed the feet of the poor on Thursday before Easter. I said I did not, for that I did not think it very becoming such a person as I was. The good king instantly replied,—‘ Ah, lord de Joinville, you ought not to disdain nor think unbecoming that which God has done for our example, when he washed the feet of his apostles, he who was their Lord and Master. I believe you would very unwillingly perform what the king of England, now with us, does. On this holy Thursday, he washes the feet of lepers, and then kisses them.’

Before this good king went to bed, he was often accustomed to have his children brought to him, and then related to them the brilliant actions and sayings of kings and other ancient princes, telling them to retain them well in their memory, to serve as examples. In like manner, he told them the deeds of wicked men, who, by their luxury, rapine, avarice and pride, had lost their honours and kingdoms, and that their deaths had been unfortunate. ‘ Such things,’ added the king, ‘ you will cautiously avoid doing like them, that you may not fall under the displeasure of God.’ He likewise taught them their prayers to the blessed Virgin, and heard them daily repeat the prayers for the day, according to the seasons, in order to accustom them to do the same, when they should be more advanced in years, and govern their country.

He was a most liberal almsgiver; for, whenever he travelled through his kingdom, he always visited the churches, the infirmaries and hospitals. He sought out distressed gentlemen, poor widows, and unmarried girls without fortune; and in every place where he found distress or want, he gave large sums of money. To poor beggars he ordered meat and drink, and I have often seen him cut the bread and pour out drink to them himself.

During his reign, he built and endowed several churches (cxiv), monasteries and abbeys; such as Reaumont, the abbey of St Anthony at Paris, the abbey du Lis, the abbey de Malboisson, and many more for the cordeliers and friars-preachers. He also erected the maison Dieu at Pontoise, that of Vernon, the house of the Quinze-vingts at Paris, and the abbey of cordeliers at St Cloud, which the princess Isabella, his sister,

founded at his request. When any benefices became vacant and were in his gift, before he provided for them, he made strict inquiry of proper persons respecting the situation and condition of those who asked for them, and whether they were men of letters and well informed. He would never allow those to whom he gave benefices, to hold more than was becoming their state, and he never gave them without having duly consulted those well qualified to give him good advice.

You will see below how he punished his bailiffs, judges, and other officers, when in fault, and the handsome new establishments he formed for the benefit of his kingdom of France. His ordinance runs thus :

‘ We Louis (cxv), by the grace of God, king of France, order, that all bailiffs, provosts, mayors, judges, receivers, and others in whatever office they may be, do each henceforth make oath, that during the time he shall hold such office, he will do strict justice to every one, without exception of person, as well to the poor as to the rich, to the stranger as well as to the resident, and will follow such laws and customs as have been found good and approved of. Should any one act contrary to his oath, we will, and expressly command, that he be punished in body and estate, according to the exigency of the case. We reserve to ourselves, and to our own discretion, the punishments that may be due to our bailiffs, judges and other officers, and also to those employed under them.

‘ Our treasurers, receivers, provosts, auditors of accounts, and other officers concerned in our finances, will swear that they will well and loyally guard our rents and domains, with all our rights, liberties and privileges, without suffering them in any way to be infringed upon, or abridged.

‘ They will not themselves accept of any gift or present, nor permit their clerks or other persons under them to do the same, nor consent to any presents being made to their wives or children, in order to gain their favour. Should any gift have been made; they will instantly and without delay restore it, or have it sent back. In like manner, they will not make any presents to any persons their superiors, to gain their favour and support. They will also swear that whenever they shall discover any officers, sergeants, or others who are robbers, and abuse their offices, for which they ought to be dismissed from

them, and our service, they will not conceal or disguise their guilt for any gift, favour, promise or otherwise; but that they will punish and correct them, as the case may require, with good faith and equity, and without any malice.

‘ We will, that the aforesaid oaths be taken before us, and that afterward they be proclaimed publicly before clerks, knights, lords, and the commonalty, in order that they may be better observed, and that those who have taken these oaths may be afraid of committing the sin of perjury, not only for the punishment that may ensue at our hands, but for fear of public disgrace, and the judgment of God hereafter.

‘ We likewise forbid and prohibit all our said bailiffs, provosts, mayors, judges, and others, our officers, either to swear by, or blaspheme the name of God, his holy mother, or the blessed saints in paradise, or to game with dice, or frequent taverns, or houses of ill fame, under penalty of deprivation of office, and undergoing such other punishment as their crimes may deserve. We order, likewise, that common prostitutes, and women too free of their favours, be put out of private houses, and separated from others of a different behaviour; and that no person let to hire any house or habitation for them to carry their libidinous trade, and vicious habits of luxury.

‘ We also forbid and prohibit any of our bailiffs, provosts, mayors, or others, our officers, to have the boldness to acquire, or purchase, by themselves, or others, any lands, or other possessions, in the districts over which they have been appointed to administer justice, without our being previously made acquainted therewith, and our leave and licence first had and obtained. Should they act otherwise, we will and declare that such lands and possessions, so acquired, be confiscated to our benefit.

‘ In like manner, we forbid any of our aforesaid superior officers, so long as they shall be in our service, to marry their sons, daughters, or other relations they may have, to any persons within their bailiwicks or district, without our special permission first obtained. We also include, within the above prohibitions of acquisitions of property and marriage, all other inferior judges, or other subalterns of office.

‘ We likewise forbid any bailiff, provost, or other, to have too great a number of sergeants or beables, so that the people may be aggrieved thereat.

‘ We also forbid any of our subjects to be personally arrested or imprisoned for any debts of theirs, but what may be owed to the crown, and that any fine be levied on any of our subjects for debt.

‘ We likewise ordain that those who may hold our provostships, viscountships, or other offices, do not sell nor transfer them to any other person without our consent. And when several are in one office we order that one of them do its duties for all.

‘ We forbid, likewise, any disseizure of possession without assigning a proper reason for it, or having our special commands to that purpose. We order that there be no additional taxes raised, nor any other imposts or customs whatever.

‘ We will that our bailiffs, provosts, mayors, viscounts, and other our officers, who shall at any time be deprived of their offices, and dismissed our service, do remain after such dismissal forty days (cxvi), within the districts where their appointments lay, either personally, or by sufficient proxy, to answer to those who shall be their successors, to such questions as they shall ask, touching their evil deeds, and the complaints made against them.’

By these regulations, the king greatly improved the state of his kingdom, inasmuch that every one lived in peace and security. You must know that in former times the office of the provostship of Paris was sold to the highest bidder (cxvii), whence it happened that many robberies, and other crimes, were committed, and justice was corrupted at its source, by favour of friends, gifts, or promises. The common people were afraid of dwelling in the open country of France, which, by this means, was almost a desert. Oftentimes there were not ten prisoners when the provost held his assizes, notwithstanding the multitude of crimes that were daily committed. For this he would not that the provostship should be sold, as it was an office he would give to some wise and upright man with a sufficient salary for his expenses, and to support his dignity. He also abolished all the heavy taxes (cxviii) that had before weighed on the common people.

He made inquiry throughout the realm for a learned and honest man, who understood the laws, and would rigorously punish malefactors, without regarding the rich more than the poor. In consequence of this, Stephen Boileau (cxix) was brought to him, to whom he gave the provostship of Paris, and who ever after did wonders in the said office, so that henceforth no robber, murderer or other malefactor could remain in Paris, without his having instant knowledge thereof, and he was sure to be hanged or punished very severely according to the greatness of his guilt. No friends, relations or money, could prevent him from acting on every occasion with the strictest justice. In a short time, population increased so much throughout the realm, from the justice and uprightness that reigned, that the estates, rents and revenues of the kingdom were in one year nearly doubled, and the country was very much improved.

From his earliest youth, he was very compassionate to the poor, and those under misfortune (cxx), which so much increased as he grew up that during his reign he was accustomed to feed daily six score poor people at his table in whatever part of the kingdom he might be. In Lent, the numbers of the poor were greater; and oft-times I have seen him serve them himself, and from his own table. On the vigils of annual festivals (cxxi) before he had eaten or drank, he served the poor, who, when fed, carried away a certain sum of money each. In short, the king St Louis gave away such immense sums in alms that they cannot be told nor counted. Some of his household (cxxii) murmured at these great gifts and alms, saying he was too extravagant in these expenses; but the good king replied, that he had rather spend such large sums in alms, than in follies and vanity. However, for all this expense in alms, he did not keep the less grand household (cxxiii), which was costly and liberal, and such as became so great a prince. He was naturally generous; and during the parliaments and councils that were held for the establishment of his new regulations, he entertained daily at his court all the lords and knights that attended them, with greater magnificence than any of his predecessors had done. He was attached to all who served God, and in consequence founded many monasteries and religious houses in various parts of his realm, and even surrounded Paris with different orders of religion, whose houses he founded and endowed with his own money.

After he had arranged his new establishments, he summoned all the barons of his realm to meet him during the Lent at Paris. He sent for me at Joinville, and I thought to excuse myself from going on account of a quartan ague that I had; but he sent me word, that he had enough of people who knew how to cure a quartan ague, and that from the love I bore him I must come to Paris. I obeyed, but when I was there I could never find out why he had thus summoned all the great barons of his kingdom. It happened, on the festival of our Lady in March, that I fell asleep during matin service. In my sleep, I thought I saw the king on his knees before an altar, and that he was surrounded by many prelates, who clothed him with a red chasuble, that was of serge of Rheims. When I awakened, I told one of my chaplains, who was a learned man, my dream, who informed me that the king was the next day to put on the cross. I asked him, how he knew this: he replied, by what I had told him of my vision; and that the red chasuble I had seen him clothed with, signified the Cross of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was dyed with the precious blood he had shed for us: and as the chasuble was of serge of Rheims, the croisade would be of a short duration; and the truth of what he said I should be witness to on the morrow.

Now, on the next day, the king and his three sons did put on the cross (cxxxiv); and the croisade was a trifling business, as the chaplain had foretold to me the preceding day. This made me consider it as a prophecy. When this was done, the king of France and the king of Navarre pressed me strongly to put on the cross, and undertake a pilgrimage with them: but I replied, that when I was before beyond sea, on the service of God, the officers of the king of France had so grievously oppressed my people that they were in a state of poverty, inasmuch that we should have great difficulty to recover ourselves; and that I saw clearly, were I to undertake another croisade, it would be the total ruin of my people. I have heard many say since, that those who had advised him to this croisade had been guilty of a great crime, and had sinned deadly. As long as he remained in his kingdom of France, every thing went on well, and all lived peaceably and in security, but the moment he left it, things began to decline. They were criminal in another respect, for the good king was so weakened in his

body that he could not support the weight of his armour, nor remain long on horseback. I remember that I was once forced to carry him in my arms from the house of the count d'Auxerre as far as the convent of the cordeliers, when we landed on our return from Palestine.

Of his expedition to Tunis I will say nothing, for I was not of it, and am resolved not to insert any thing in this book but what I am perfectly certain is true. But I will say, that, during the time the good king Saint Louis was at Tunis, and before the castle of Carthage, he was seized with a dysentery: the lord Philip, his eldest son, was attacked with the same disorder, and a quartan ague. The good king took to his bed, and, well knowing he was about to quit this life for another, called to his children, and, addressing himself to his eldest son, gave them instructions, which he commanded them to consider as his last will, and the objects which they were to attend to when he should be deceased. I have heard that the good king had written out these instructions with his own hand, and that they were as follows (cxxv):

‘ Fair son, the first advice that I shall give thee is, that with all thy heart, and above all other things, thou love God, for without this no man can be saved. Be most careful not to do any thing that may displease Him; that is to say, avoid sin. Thou oughtest to desire to suffer any torments rather than sin mortally. Should God send thee adversity, receive it patiently, give him thanks for it, and believe that thou hast well deserved it, and that it will turn out to thine honour. Should he grant thee prosperity, be humbly grateful for it; but take care thou do not become worse, through pride or presumption, for it behoves us not to make war against God for his gifts. Confess thyself often, and choose such a discreet and wise confessor as may have abilities to point out to thee the things necessary for thy salvation, and what things thou oughtest to shun; and mayest thou be such a character, that thy confessor, relations, and acquaintance, may boldly reprove thee for any wrong thou mayest have done, and instruct thee how thou shouldest act. Attend the service of God, and of our mother church, with heartfelt devotion, more particularly the mass, from the consecration of the holy body of our Lord, without

laughing (cxxvi) or gossiping (cxxvii) with any one. Have always a compassionate heart for the poor, and assist and comfort them as much as thou canst.

‘ Keep up and maintain good manners in thy kingdom : abase and punish the bad. Preserve thyself from too great luxury ; and never lay any heavy imposts on thy people, unless through necessity forced to it, or for the defence of thy country. If thy heart feel any discomfort, tell it instantly to thy confessor, or to any sober-minded person, that is not full of wicked words : thou mayest thus more easily bear it, from the consolation he may give thee. Be careful to choose such companions as are honest and loyal, and not full of vices, whether they be churchmen, monks, seculars, or others.

‘ Avoid the society of the wicked ; and force thyself to listen to the word of God, and to retain it in thy heart. Beg continually in thy prayers for pardon, and the remission of thy sins. Love thine honour. Take care not to suffer any one to dare utter words in thy presence that may excite to sin, nor any calumny of another, whether he be present or absent ; nor any thing disrespectful of God, his holy mother, or of the saints.

‘ Offer thanks frequently to God for the prosperity and other good things he gives thee. Be upright, and do justice strictly to all, to the poor and to the rich. Be liberal and good to thy servants, but firm in thy orders, that they may fear and love thee as their master. If any controversy or dispute arise, inquire into it until thou comest to the truth, whether it be in thy favour or against thee. If thou possess any thing that does not belong to thee, or that may have come to thee from thy predecessors, and thou be informed for a truth that it is not thine, cause it instantly to be restored to its proper owner. Be particularly attentive that thy subjects live in peace and security, as well in the towns as in the country. Maintain such liberties and franchises as thy ancestors have done, and preserve them inviolate ; for by the riches and power of thy principal towns thy enemies will be afraid of affronting or attacking thee, more especially thy equals, thy barons, and such like.

‘ Love and honour all churchmen, and be careful not to deprive them of any gifts, revenues, or alms which thy ancestors or predecessors may have

granted to them. It is reported of my grandfather Philip, that when one of his counsellors told him that the churchmen were making him lose his revenues, royalties, and even his rights of justice, and that he was surprised how he suffered it: the king replied, that he believed it was so, but that God had shewn him so much favour, and granted him such prosperity, that he had rather lose all he had, than have any dispute or contention with the servants of his holy church.

‘ Be to thy father and mother dutiful and respectful, and avoid angering them by thy disobedience to their just commands. Give such benefices as may become vacant to discreet persons of a pure conversation, and give them with the advice of well-advised, prudent persons. Avoid going to war with any Christian power, without mature deliberation, and if it can in any wise be prevented. If thou goest to war, respect churchmen and all who have done thee no wrong. Should contentions arise between thy vassals, put an end to them as speedily as possible.

‘ Attend frequently to the conduct of thy bailiffs, provosts, and others thy officers: inquire into their behaviour, in order that if there may be any amendment to be made in their manner of distributing justice, thou mayest make it. Should any disgraceful sin, such as blasphemy or heresy, be prevalent in thy kingdom, have it instantly destroyed, and driven thence. Be careful that thou keep a liberal establishment, but with economy.

‘ I beseech thee, my child, that thou hold me, and my poor soul, in thy remembrance when I am no more, and that thou succour me by masses, prayers, intercessions, alms and benefactions, throughout thy kingdom, and that thou allot for me a part of all the good acts thou shalt perform.

‘ I give thee every blessing that father ever bestowed on son, beseeching the whole Trinity of paradise, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to preserve and guard thee from all evils, more particularly that thou die not under any deadly sin, and that we may, after this mortal life, appear together before God, to render him praise and thanksgiving, without ceasing, in his kingdom of paradise. Amen.’

When the good king, St Louis, had finished giving the above instructions to the lord Philip, his son, his disorder so greatly increased, that he asked for the sacraments of the holy church, which were duly administered to

him, whilst he enjoyed full life, and perfect memory. This was very apparent when they came to the unction; for when they chaunted the seven penitential psalms, he himself repeated the responses with the assistants, who replied to the priest that was anointing him. I have since heard from my lord the count d'Alençon, his son (cxxxviii), that while the good king was in the agonies of death, he made efforts to call on all the saints in paradise to come and aid him in his distress. He in particular called on my lord St James, in repeating his prayer, which begins 'Esto Domine.' He prayed to my lord St Denis of France, in words that were nearly as follows: 'Lord God give us grace to have the power of despising and forgetting the things of this world, so that we may not fear any evil.' He called, likewise, on St Genevieve. He then ordered his body to be placed on a bed of ashes, and, crossing his hands on his breast, with eyes uplifted to heaven, rendered his soul back to his Creator (cxxxix), at the very same hour that our Lord JESUS CHRIST expired on the cross for the salvation of his people.

The death of this holy prince was a melancholy event (cxxx) and worthy of lamentation; for he had lived like a saint, had well taken care of his kingdom, and done many religious acts towards God. As an author has his book finely illuminated that greater honour and respect may be paid to it, so our late holy king had illuminated his country by his great alms, and by the churches and monasteries that he had erected and founded in his life-time, in which, at this moment, God is praised and adored day and night. The good king departed from this life to another on the morrow after the feast of St Bartholomew, and his corpse was brought to St Denis in France (cxxxxi), and was buried in the spot he had some time before fixed on for his sepulture: in which place, God has, through his intercessions, done many and great miracles (cxxxii).

Soon after, by orders from the holy pontiff at Rome, a prelate of France, who was archbishop of Rouen (cxxxiii), in company with another bishop, came to St Denis, where they remained a long time, making inquiries into the life of the good king St. Louis. They summoned me before them, and I staid there two days in relating all I knew of his life and manners. When they had made every necessary inquiry respecting this good king, they carried with them their report to Rome; where, having thoroughly canvassed it,

they placed him among the faints in paradise. This was undoubtedly joyful news to France, and ought to be so to the whole kingdom, and a great honour to his descendants, particularly such as may follow his example, but dishonourable to those who shall not; and they will be pointed at by the fingers of the public, who will say, the holy man, had he been alive, would never have done such disgraceful acts.

When intelligence of his canonisation was brought from Rome, the king appointed a day for the raising of his holy body (cxxxiv), which was done by the then archbishop of Rheims, and it was borne by sir Henry de Villiers, archbishop of Lyon, and by several archbishops and bishops, whose names I do not remember. After its translation, friar John de Semours (cxxxv) preached a public sermon. Among the many traits of the life of this holy king which he dwelt upon, was one which I had told him: I mean, his great fidelity to his word; for, as I have before said, whenever he had simply given his word to the Saracens on any subject, there was nothing that could prevent him from most strictly keeping it, whatever might be the consequences; nor, for one hundred thousand livres, would he have broken his word. Friar John, in his sermon, detailed the whole life of this good king, as I have indited it. On the sermon being ended, the king and his brothers carried the corpse of their father (cxxxvi) to the church of St Denis, assisted by others of their relations, to do honour to the corpse of him who had done them great honour, if they did not deprive themselves of it by their own faults, as I have before said.

I must mention something more in honour to the good king St Louis. I was on a certain day in my chapel of Joinville, when I thought I saw him resplendent with glory before me. I was very proud to see him thus in my castle, and said to him, 'Sire, when you shall depart hence I will conduct you to another of my castles that I have at Chevillon, where you shall also be lodged.' Methought he answered me with a smile, 'Lord de Joinville, from my affection to you, I will not, since I am here, depart hence so soon.' When I awakened, I bethought myself, that it was the pleasure of God, and his own, that I should lodge him in my chapel, and instantly afterward I had an altar erected to the honour of God, and of him. I also founded a perpetual mass for every day in honour of God and St Louis. These

things have I told to the king Louis, in order that by my endeavours to please God, and my late lord, I might obtain some part of the relics of the real holy body of St Louis to decorate my chapel of Joinville with, to induce those who shall see his altar to pay greater devotion to the saint.

I now make known to my readers, that all they shall find in this little book, which I have declared to have seen and known, is true, and what they ought most firmly to believe. As for such things as I have mentioned as hearsay, they will understand them just as they shall please. And I beseech God, through the prayers of my lord St Louis, that it may please him to give us such things as he knows to be necessary, as well for the body as the soul. Amen.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

NOTES.

NOTES

ON THE

MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE,

BY CHARLES DU FRESNE, SIEUR DU CANGE.

&c. &c.

(1) *High Steward.* THE lords of Joinville do not seem to have assumed this addition to their title in any old deeds or charters we have seen, but simply that of seneschal, which they have pretended to be hereditary in their family, as we have noticed in their genealogy. They might have been justified in adding it, for in this quality they had the superiority and command over all the other seneschals and bailiffs in Champagne.

The counts of Provence, of Perche, of Ponthieu, the dukes of Guyenne, and other great lords of the realm, had, in like manner, their seneschals, who acted as presidents at the assizes of their bailiffs, through the extent of their bailiwicks.

The ordinance of Edward I. king of England, which is now to be seen in the register of the constablewick of Bourdeaux, page 78. regulates the function of high steward of Guyenne, enjoining him, among other things,

to establish deputy feneschals and bailiffs, to visit the bailiwicks at least once a year, and to preside at the assizes, &c.

(II) *Louis, his eldest son.* He was born in the year 1244, and died when sixteen years old, in 1260.—Nangius in S. Lud. p. 340.

(III) *A Scotsman.* I know not if the lord de Joinville here speaks of the Scots as of a people very distant from France, and who inhabited what was called the Ultima Thule, or whether he wished to mark the character of this nation, which delighted so much in travelling to different countries, that there was scarcely a kingdom wherein great numbers of them were not to be found. This is noticed by Walfridus Strabo in the forty-sixth chapter of the second book of his life of St Gal. Owing to this love of emigrating, we read that in almost every part of France there were hospitals founded for them, of which mention is made in the capitularies of Charles le Chauve, tit. 6. and 23. In Synodo Meld. cap. 14. and in the charter of the foundation of the abbey of Walcourt, in the diocese of Namur, published by Miræus in diplom. Belg. Lib. 2. cap. 22. See also, on this subject, Innocent. Ciron. lib. 1. Observat. Jur. Canon. cap. 13.

(IV) *Sendal, or cendal, which is what we call Taffety.* The Italians call it Zendado and Zendalo. The latin authors of the middle age express this word as differently. Hariulfus in chr. Centul. lib. 3. cap. 3. Melnæ fericæ 3. Ex pisce 1. Ex cendalo 4. Chr. Fontanell, cap. 16. Casulas 5. Cindadas 12. Coloris diversi. Concil. 1. Salisburg. In pileis suffuraturas non habeant nisi forté de nigro centato, vel parmo. Concil, Senon. an. 1346. cap. 2. prohibens à parte exteriori almutias de cendesco, seu de velveto deferre. Rolandin in Chr. lib. 4. cap. 9. Tunc accessit unus de popularibus Paduæ ad cendatum pendens de sublimi antennâ Carocii, &c. This word is used also by our poets. Philip Mouskes, in his life of Chilperick, says,

‘ Si prisent mult or et argent,
Muls, et palefrois et cevaux,
Et vairs et gris, et bons cendaus.’

In the romance of Garin le Loherans, there is

‘ La vieffiés ces haubers endoffër,
Et ces enseignes de Cendau venteler.’

In the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, who was silversmith to the king, in the year 1351, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, there is this article, ‘ For two bundles of scarlet cendal, 120 crowns. For one bundle of yellow cendal, 52 crowns,’ &c.

(v) *Mezeau et ladre*. These two words are synonymous, and signify lepers, of whom, at that period, there were numbers, more especially in the holy land. Nangis, in the life of Dagobert, says, ‘ Leens étoit demouré un Mezel qui s’étoit bouté et muffié en un anglet.’ Philippes de Beaumanoir, chap. 62. says, ‘ When Lepers call to them a holy man, or a holy man calls to a leper, the leper may put himself in a state of defence, because he is out of the protection of the law.’ In an old manuscript law-book of Normandy, it is declared, ‘ That the mezel (leper) cannot be heir to any one, since the disorder is visibly increasing, but that he may possess the inheritance he had before he became a leper.’ In the assizes of Jerusalem, ch. 128. ‘ Whoever pleases may challenge and claim at the assizes any male or female slave he had bought, whether leper or not, or afflicted with any other filthy disorder.’

The Reclus de Moliens has,

‘ Que tes oreilles estoupas
Au mesel pauvre pèlerin
Lazaron, sans qui tu foupas.’

The Italians use the word *mifelle*, particularly John Villani, l. 8. ch. 108. The latin authors call them *mifelli*. Matthew Paris says, in the year 1254, ‘ Ecclesiæ S. Juliani ubi mifelli, et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Pratis, ubi mifellæ vix habent vitæ necessaria. Mifelli de Meleduno.’ They are mentioned in a title-deed of the year 1165, in the *Melanges Historiques* du Pere Labbé. See the life of S. Cler, abbot of Vienne in Bolandus, ch. 3. n. 6. From all which it should seem, that this expression has been taken from the latin word *mifellus*, miserable.

The hospitals to which lepers retired are called *misellariæ* in old charters. One of the year 1245, in a register of the counts of Toulouse in the chamber of accounts at Paris, fol. 45. has the following: 'Concessit Galhardæ de Metz et Bertrando de Miravel, leprosis, et omnibus fratribus et sororibus, domus misellariæ portæ Narbonensis,' &c. See also the memoirs of Languedoc by Catel, p. 262. The leprosy is also called by the same term in the french and latin glossary, 'lepra, elephantia, mesellerie.'

In the poem of 'The Pilgrimage of Human Life,' are these lines:

' Homs, qui ne fet bien discerner
Entre fanté et maladie,
Entre le grant mesellerie,
Entre le moienne et le menre,' &c.

(vi) *Mufard*. Idler, one who amuses himself by doing nothing.

William Guiart, in the year 1208, says,

' Sont-il bien tous mufars et nices.'

The Art of a ditty or ballad maker, &c. in MS. by the prior of Saint Genevieve de Marry, in a rondeau, says,

' Je ne veuil plus à vous, dame, muser,
Vous pouvez bien querir autre mufart,
Tart m'apperceoy que on m' a fait muser;
Je ne veuil plus,' &c.

Adalberon bishop of Laon, in his poem dedicated to king Robert, says,

' Si mufas celebres, clament mufarde facerdos.'

(vii) *Gilles de Bruyn*. It should be *le Brun*, which was the surname of Gilles de Traffegnies, constable of France. He was son of Gilles lord of Traffegnies, constable of Flanders, who died on the road as he was accompanying the expedition against Constantinople, as is noticed in the history of Geoffry de Villehardouin, n. 27. & 121. by Alicia de Boulers, daughter to Nicholas de Boulers by the daughter of Eustache lord of Roeux. This Alicia was first married to Philippes de Harne, constable of Flanders; secondly, to Gilles de Traffegnies; and thirdly, to Rasse lord of

Gaure, as I learn from a manuscript genealogy of the family of Traffegnies, to which may be added what Aubertus Miræus has written in *notit. eccl. Belg.* c. 110. and in *Chr. Belg.* A. 1235.

With respect to Gilles le Brun, he was raised by St Louis to the dignity of constable after the death of Imbert de Beaujeu. The fleur Hemeré, in his history of the town of St Quentin, refers to some title-deeds signed by him of the year 1256, in which he styles himself ‘Ægidius, dictus li Bruns, de Traffegnies, constabularius Franciæ.’ There is another by him of the year 1262, in the fourth book of the antiquities of Paris, by Sauval.

Baudouin d’Avesnes, p. 595. and the author of the history of the descendants of the house of Coucy, give him for daughter Mary, wife to Thomas lord of Mortagne. The history of France, which is in manuscript in the library of monsieur de Mesmes, remarks, that the king St Louis gave him the command of the troops which he sent into Italy to conquer Sicily, and, describing the battle of Beneventum, says, ‘William le Brun, constable of France, who was there as lieutenant for the king St Louis, had likewise the wardship of Robert, son to the earl of Flanders.’

William Guiart, in the year 1264, speaking of the same enterprise, says,

‘ En l’autre est Robers de Bethune,
Qui fa gent pour les introduire,
Fait a Gilles le brun conduire.
Cil iert, lors mareschal * de France,
Ces deus ont en leur alliance,
Sans ce qu’ aucuns d’eus les esloigne,
Flamens, & ceus devers Boloigne.’

This is likewise noticed by Giovan. Villani, b. 7. c. 4. and 8. Claude Ménard and others, by following du Tillet, have been grossly mistaken when they published that Gilles de Traffegnies was of the house of Lusignan, because the surname of le Brun was commonly used by that family. It is probable that this surname was given to distinguish him from his father, who had the same Christian name, or perhaps from the colour of his

* Connétable.

complexion or hair, as a lady is called by Aufonius, for the like reason in Parental. Carm. 5. Maura.

‘ Nomen huic jocularè datum, cute fusca quod olim
Æquales inter maura vocata fuit.’

Thus the emperor John Comnenes, son to Alexis Comnenes, was surnamed Maurus, according to William archbishop of Tyre, book 15. ch. 23. because he was ‘ carne et capillo niger;’ which is also noticed by Anna Comnena, sister to this emperor, in page 168. of her Alexiade. We frequently find in our history several persons called Albi, on account of the whiteness of their skin.

With regard to our author calling Gilles de Trassegnies his brother, I presume it was in consequence of a firm friendship which they might have formed at the court of the king St Louis, or perhaps because they were brothers in arms.

(VIII) *Master Robert de Sorbon*, founder of the college of the Sorbonne at Paris, called after his name. Father du Breuil, in the second book of his Antiquities of Paris, and Etienne Pasquier, in the seventh book of his Recherches, chapter 15. have spoken of him at length; but as the time of his death has not been noticed, I have thought I should oblige the public if I communicated, in this place, the two following pieces which I received, with several others, from M. de Vyon, lord of Herouval, auditor of accounts at Paris. The first is the will of Robert de Sorbonne, dated 1270, about which time he probably died, or at least before 1274, as will be perceived from the piece which follows the undercited.

‘ Universis præsentis litteras inspecturis officialis curiæ parisiensis salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod in nostra præsentia propter hoc constitutus vir venerabilis magister Robertus de Sorbona canonicus parisiensis, in plena sua sanitate et compos mentis suæ, prout prima facie apparebat, volens sibi præcavere in futurum, de bonis suis immobilibus ordinavit in hunc modum. Primo enim omnia bona sua immobilia quæ tenet in manu mortua, videlicet, vineas, domos, census, cum eorum pertinentiis, quæ acquisivit Paris. seu in confinio ejus, vel acquireret in

manu mortua usque ad diem mortis ejus, dedit donatione inter vivos congregationi pauperum magistrorum Paris. studentium in theologica facultate, quorum diu provisor extitit, et nunc, dominium et proprietatem dictorum bonorum in ipsos pauperes magistros transferendo. Item dilectum suum virum venerabilem magistrum Gaufridum de Barro, canonicum parisiensem post decessum ipsius magistri Roberti suum constituit hæredem, videlicet, aliorum bonorum suorum immobilium, quæ non tænet in manu mortua videlicet vinearum, domorum, censuum, feodi, cum eorum pertinentiis, seu appendiciis, quæ acquisivit Paris. vel in confinio ejus, vel quæ acquireret usque ad diem mortis suæ, excepta duntaxat domo quadam sita in monte S. Genovisæ prope domum magistri Geroldi de Abbativilla, de qua aliter ordinavit, ut dicebat; conferens et concedens prædictus tam ipsius magistri Roberti, eidem magistro magister Robertus ex tunc, scilicet post mortem Gaufrido, tanquam hæredi suo, ut dictum est, omnium prædictorum immobilium, quæ non sunt in manu mortua, totum jus quod habebat, vel habere poterat in præmissis omnibus qualicumque ratione, salvo sibi quamdiu vixerit prædictus magister Robertus in omnibus et singulis cum proprietate præmissorum usufructu, volens, si quidem et concedens expresse quod dictus magister Gaufridus hæres institutus, ut dictum est, teneat et possideat post decessum ipsius magistri Roberti omnia supra dicta, tanquam hæres pacifice et quiete absque reclamazione et contradictione qualibet hæredum suorum carnalium, seu etiam aliorum quorumcumque, tali apposita conditione ex parte ipsius Magistri Roberti, quod dictus magister Gaufridus hæres præmissorum institutus, ut dictum est, pro eodem magistro Roberto omnibus creditoribus suis satisfacere teneatur de omnibus debitis, in quibus nunc tenetur, vel ea quæ tenebitur tempore mortis suæ. Voluit et prædictus magister Robertus quod de bonis prædictis provideretur Joanni de Castellario clerico suo in bursa et hospitio, sicut uni de pauperibus magistris provideretur, sive audiat logicam, sive theologiam, donec domibus sibi providerit de beneficio competenti. De bonis autem suis mobilibus per alios ordinavit, ut dicebat. Hæc itaque omnia voluit prædictus magister Robertus rata esse, et firma, nisi eum in vita sua contingeret de iis aliter ordinare. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis litteras sigillo curiæ parisiensis

una cum sigillo ipsius magistri Roberti fecimus sigillari. Actum ann. Dom. 1270 in die sancti Michaelis.'

'Universis præsentes litteras inspect. magister Gaufridus de Barro decanus parisiensis æternam in Dom. salutem. Noveritis quod nos omnia bona, quorum vir venerabilis bonæ memoriæ magister Robertus de Sorbonio, canonicus parisiensis suum constituit nos hæredem, pietatis intuitu in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam donamus donatione inter vivos congregationi pauperum magistrorum, seu ipsis pauperibus magistris Paris. in theologica facultate studentibus, quorum diu provisor extitit magister ante dictus, ex nunc dominium et proprietatem dictorum bonorum cum eorum pertinentiis, seu appendiciis, cum omni jure quod in præmissis omnibus et singulis qualicunque ratione habemus, seu habere possumus, in ipsos Pauperes magistros transferendo, hac conditione apposita, quod dicti magistri et eorum congregatio et provisor eorum nomine dictæ congregationis, et ipsorum magistrorum, et pro ipsis teneantur satisfacere omnibus creditoribus dicti magistri Roberti, et omnibus debitis, in quibus dictus magister Robertus tenebatur tempore mortis suæ, et ad omnia onera in quibus tenemur vel teneri possumus occasione hæreditatis prædictæ. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus duximus apponendum anno Domini 1274, mense Novembri.'

Robert de Sorbonne was a subscribing witness to the will of Gerard d'Abbeville, doctor of divinity and archdeacon of Ponthieu in the year 1271, as is noticed in the history of the seven ecclesiastical orders of the church of Abbeville, page 206.

(IX) *Et parlions conseil.* 'Parler conseil et conseiller,' in this instance, means to converse secretly, and is a mode of expression made use of by Villehardouin in like manner. A manuscript romance, called 'The Doctrinal,' says,

'Certe j'ay grant merveille d'une caitive gent;
Qui blasment les preudommes a conseil coient.'

The French express themselves in this manner, similar to some latin authors of the middle age who use the word *consiliari*, which signifies to

practise a secret conspiracy against any one. ‘Lex Saxon. tit. 3. § 1. qui in regnum, vel regem Francorum, vel in filios ejus de morte consiliatus fuerit, capite puniatur. Consiliari contra animam Regis, in leg. Longob. lib. 1. tit. 1. § 1. Annales Franc. et Chron. Reichersperg. an. 788. Comprobatus est ad avaros se postea transtulisse, et in vitam fidelium regis consiliaffe.’

(x) *Chasteil*, or *Catel*, *Cateux*: ‘*Catallum*,’ in latin authors, signifies chattels. See the glossaries of Spelman, of Watfius, of Vossius, of Ragueau, &c.

(xi) *Thibaud his son*, rather his son-in-law; that is to say, Thibaud II. king of Navarre, who had married Isabella daughter of St Louis.

(xii) *A faithful executor*. The office of executors of wills consists particularly in discharging pious legacies, and in the distribution of the alms of the testators; for which reason they are called Eleemosynarii in the capitularies of Charles the bald, tit. 43. § 12. and elsewhere. Eleemosynatores, in an ancient charter reported by M. Perard in his memoirs of Burgundy. Erogatores, in the laws of the Lombards, l. 2. tit. 20. § 5. and Eragotorii, in Synodo Pontigon, cap. 14. Balde ad, l. nulli c. de epis. et cleric. uses this last word for testamentary executors, which seems to have been taken from the lawyers of the middle ages, who mention those that distributed food to the soldiery, whom the Law, 16 cod. de Castrensi pecul. lib. 12. calls ‘Erogatores militaris annonæ:’ of whom St Gregory speaks, lib. 7. ind. 2. epist. 77. and 130. Cassiodorus likewise notices them in lib. 12. epist. 11. In the greek and latin glossary, ἐξοδιαζω, Erogo, expendo. Elsewhere, ἐξοδιασμος, Erogatio, distributio.

Browerus, lib. 2. Antiq. fuld. cap. 10. remarks, that there was in the monasteries an officer called ‘Testamentarius, penes quem fuit dispositio piorum legatorum, seu ab exteris ea, seu a domesticis proficiscerentur, velut hac in re fidelium testamenta exequerentur.’ The same person is commonly called Eleemosynarius, whose function is described by Lanfrancus in decreto pro ord. S. Benedic. cap. 8. § 3. and Udalricus, lib. 3. consuet. Cluniac. cap. 24.

The lord de Joinville is laughing at those who, having committed atrocious acts of plunder during their lives, imagine they may acquit themselves before God by giving alms to some monasteries or churches. ‘Non probatur largitas, si quod alteri largitur, alteri extorqueat, si injuste quærat, et iuste dispensandum putet,’ as St Ambrose writes, l. 1. de offic. c. 30. St Peter Chrysologos, in his fifty-fourth sermon, says, ‘Audeo dicere, qui de fraude Deo offert, cumulat crimina, non emundat: quia Deus in tali munere exuvias fuorum pauperum, non misericordias intuetur. Sine causa Deo plorat, quem iuste causa pauperis ploraverit Deo.’

(XIII) *The earl of Brittany.* John I. of the name, and who is noticed in several parts of this history. He died the 8th of October 1286, and was father to John II. duke of Brittany, deceased in the year 1305. It is apparent from this, that the lord de Joinville wrote his history, or at least augmented or corrected it, at different times; for in this part he says, that John II. was still alive, and elsewhere he speaks of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, and of his death which happened at Compiègne in this same year 1305.

(XIV) *Bondmen.* There was a noble family in Champagne which bore the surname of Sorbonne, a place of which that family possessed the lordship, and from whence it is maintained that Robert de Sorbonne was descended, because he was surnamed de Sorbonne, according to the custom of those times.

(XV) *Fin camelin* is what we call camlet, a sort of stuff made from the hair of camels. In the accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king, in 1351, is this article, ‘Pour fourrer une cote hardie de camelin de Chateau-landon.’ The camelet of Amiens is elsewhere mentioned: see les Origines de la langue Française de M. Menage.

(XVI) *His surcoat.* A sort of dress, or robe, common to men and women. In the accounts quoted in the preceding note is an article, ‘For three pieces and a half of fine velvet in grain, given to the aforesaid

Eustache, to make a furcoat, a dress mantle, and a hat lined with ermines for the king, against the feast of the star, &c. For the said furcoat, a fur lining of three hundred and forty six ermines, for the sleeves and wristbands sixty; for the frock three hundred and thirty-six,' &c.

Philippe Mouskes, in his life of Charlemagne :

‘ A tousjors en ivier si ot
A mances un nouviel furcot,
Fourré de vair et de goupis *,
Pour garder son cors et son pis †.’

In the romance of the said knight.

‘ Ains qu’on vist laube crever,
A le court vint devant disner,
Son furcot ala despouiller.’

Isaacus Pontanus, in the description of Denmark, page 801, remarks, that among the Danes the word *ferk* signifies a woman's dress. It may be that the French have borrowed this term from the Normans, who frequently ravaged France; but it is more probable that this dress was so called from being worn over the coat. This name was afterwards given to the robes of the men. However that may be, I believe it was this sort of dress that Reginon heard spoken of in the year 753. ‘ Et vidi ante altare D. Petrum et magistrum gentium D. Paulum, et tota mente illos recognovi de illorum furcariis.’ This last word I suppose ought to be *furcotiis*.

(XVII) *Garbun*. In Italian *Garbino*. A wind called by sailors south-west.

(XVIII) *Sacrament*. Geoffry de Beaulieu, ch. 29. writes that the king, Saint Louis, being obliged to embark to return to France from the holy land: ‘ Ex devotione sua fecit poni in navi corpus Domini J. C. pro communicandis infirmis, ac pro se ipso et suis, quando sibi expediens videretur, et quia alii peregrini quantumcumque magni hoc facere non solebant obtinuit super hoc a Domino legato licentiam specialem. Hunc

* Fox skins.

† Breast.

autem sacrum Thesaurum in loco navis dignissimo et convenientissimo fecit poni, et pretiosum tabernaculum ibi eregi, panisque sericis, et aureis operiri,' &c.

Our author hereafter notices the same thing respecting the holy sacrament, which was displayed in the ship of St Louis. It is, however, certain, that before this period the pious, when they embarked on the seas, were accustomed to carry with them the holy eucharist. St Ambrose in lib. de obitu Satyri fratris, says,—‘ Qui priusquam perfectioribus esset initiatus misteriis in naufragio constitutus cum ea qua veheretur navis, scopulo illisa vado, et urgentibus hinc, atque inde fluctibus solveretur, non mortem metuens, sed ne vacuus misterii exiret e vita, quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit, non ut curiosis oculos inferret arcanis, sed ut fide suæ consequeretur auxilio.’ Saint Gregory testifies the same thing, l. 3. dial. c. 36. And Matthew Paris, in the year 1247, writes, that a cardinal-legate of the pope in England, ‘ Cum navem assensurus esset, iussit cuidam fratri de ordine prædicatorum in ipsa missam celebrare, quod et factum est, non sine multorum, qui hoc non præviderant, admiratione.’

(xix) *William*, who has left behind him several works, and under whom the question of plurality of benefices was agitated.

(xx) *The holy king related to me.* Giovanni Villani, l. 6. ch. 7. attributes this history to St Louis himself, and not to the count de Montfort.

(xxi) *With a sharp-edged sword.* It was the maxim of those days that heretics should be exterminated by fire and sword. We frequently read of heretics being burnt alive, especially in the reign of St Louis, who carried on an incessant war against the Albigeois. See what two learned Greeks of that age have written on the subject, Nicolaus Almannus in not. ad Procopii Hist. Arcanam. pp. 55, 56. 1. edit. et Leo Allatius, lib. 2. de Concord. Utriusque Eccl. cap. 13. n. 2. But Agathius, in lib. 1. of his History, holds errors in religious matters pardonable; ‘ forasmuch,’ says

he, 'as those who embrace these erroneous and heretical opinions commonly do so from the firm belief which they have of their truth.' Theodore Balsamon, on the Nomocanon of Photius, tit. 9. ch. 25. says, that he cannot conceive how the council held at Constantinople, under the patriarchate of Michael Oxistus, could have condemned to the flames the Bogomiles, who were heretics of those times, since at that period there did not exist any canon of the church which decreed the punishment of death against heretics. Several learned persons have therefore endeavoured to prove, by solid reasoning, that heretics ought to be reclaimed by gentle means instead of rigorous ones.

See the preface of Thuanus to his history, and the treatise printed at Magdebourg in the year 1554, entitled, 'De hæreticis, et an sint persequendi, et quomodo cum eis agendum sit, doctorum virorum sententiæ.'

(xxii) *The lord of Neelles.* Simon son of Raoul de Clermont, lord of Ailly and of Gertrude, lady and heiress of Neelle. He was regent of the kingdom of France during the second expedition of Saint Louis to the holy land. See the history of the house of Bethune, p. 274. Du Tillet, la Morliere, &c.

(xxiii) *The good lord of Soissons.* John, the second of the name, surnamed le Begue, son to Raoul de Neelle, count of Soissons, by Jolande de Joinville, his second wife and consequently cousin-german to our lord de Joinville, as he thus styles him some pages hence.

(xxv) *Peter de Fontaines.* He is named in several judgments and assemblies given and held during the reign of St Louis, among the judges of parliament, in the memoirs of du Tillet and de Miraumont. He was the author of the book intitled, 'Li Livres de la Reigne,' which treats of the forms of law, and is often cited by Fauchet, Pithou, Chopin, la Croix du Maine and others. The manuscript that is preserved in the hôtel de ville d'Amiens has for title, 'Le Confell que Pierres de Fontaines donna à son Ami.'

(xxvi) *Geffroy de Vilette*. This lord was bailiff of Tours in the year 1261, as we learn from a list of the bailiffs of France at Candlemas in that year, and which is in the chambre des comptes at Paris, wherein he is thus styled, ‘Gaufridus de Villeta, castellanus Turonensis, custos balliviæ Turonensis.’ He again appears with the same title the following year, in an account made up to Ascension-day. In another of the year 1268, he is mentioned as having been sent ambassador to the republic of Venice: *Compotus dominorum Gaufridi de Villeta, et Joannis de Soisaco militum pro via Venitiæ.* Gautier de Vilette, knight, styles himself Bailiff of Tours in the year 1271.

(xxvii) *All the prelates of France*. This assembly of the prelates of France was induced, according to the lord de Joinville, to remonstrate with the king on the contempt in which the heretics, that is to say, the Albigeois, held the excommunications of the bishops, and to request that they should be compelled to undergo absolution and return by this means to an union with the church under the penalty of seizure and confiscation of their goods, imploring to effectuate this, the aid and support of the royal authority.

This assembly must have been held between the year 1247, when Guy de Mello, bishop of Auxerre, the president of the meeting, took possession of the episcopal throne, and the year 1270, which was the year of his death. Thus we cannot refer to this assembly the ordinance of St Louis, which he issued on the same subject in the year 1228, and which is to be found in the register of the Trésor des Chartes, Nos. 10. 26 & 27 from which I should be inclined to believe, that the bishops only required in this assembly that this ordinance should be put into execution.

‘Ludovicus, Dei gratia francorum rex, universis civibus Narbonensibus et aliis fidelibus suis per Narbonensem diocesim constitutis; salutem et dilectionem. Cupientes inprimis ætatis, et regni nostri primordiis illi servire a quo regnum recognoscimus, et id quod sumus, desideramus, ad honorem ipsius, qui nobis culmen dedit honoris, quod ecclesiæ Dei, quæ in partibus vestris longo tempore fuit afflictæ, et tribulationibus innumeris concussata, in nostro Dominio honoretur, et feliciter gubernetur. Unde de magnorum et

prudentum consilio statuimus, quod ecclesiæ et viri ecclesiastici in terris constituti prædictus, libertatibus, et immunitatibus utantur, quibus utitur ecclesia Gallicana, et eis plene gaudeant, secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ memoratæ. Et quia hæretici longo tempore virus suum in vestris partibus effuderunt, ecclesiam matrem nostram multipliciter maculantes, ad ipsorum extirpationem statuimus quod hæretici, qui a fide catholica deviant, quocumque nomine censeantur postquam fuerint de hæresi per episcopum loci, vel per aliam ecclesiasticum personam, quæ potestatem habeat, condemnati, indilate animadversione debita puniantur. Ordinantes etiam, et firmiter decernentes, ne quis hæreticos receptare, vel defensare quomodolibet, aut ipsis favere, aut credere quoquomodo præsumat. Et si aliquis contra prædicta facere præsumpserit, nec ad testimonium, nec ad honorem aliquem, de cœtero admittatur, nec possit facere testamentum, nec successionem alicujus hæreditatis habere, omnia bona ipsius, mobilia et immobilia, quod sint ipso facto publicata decernimus, ad ipsum, vel ad posteritatem ipsius, ulterius nullatenus reversura. Statuimus etiam, et mandamus, ut barones terræ, et baillivi nostri, et alii subditi nostri præsentis et futuri, solliciti sint et intenti, terram purgare hæreticis, et hæretica fœditate. Et præcipientes quod prædicti diligenter ipsos investigare studeant, et fideliter invenire: et cum eos invenerint, præsentent sine moræ dispendio personis ecclesiasticis supra memoratis, ut eis præsentibus de errore et hæresi condemnatis, omni odio, prece, pretio, timore, gratia, et amore postpositis, de ipsis festinate faciant quod debebunt. Verum quia honorandi sunt, et muneribus provocandi, qui ad inveniendum et capiendum hæreticos sollicite diligentiam suam exercent: statuimus, volumus, et mandamus, ut baillivi nostri, in quorum bailliviis capti fuerint hæretici, pro quolibet hæretico, postquam fuerit de hæresi condemnatus, usque ad biennium solvant duas Marchas argenti integre capienti, post biennium autem unam. Hanc quia ruptari solent devastare ac demoliri terram prædictam; et quietem ecclesiæ et ecclesiasticorum virorum turbare, statuimus ut omnino ruptariis ipsis expulsis, pax perpetuo servetur in terra, ad quam servandam dent omnes operam efficacem. Ad hæc quia claves ecclesiæ consueverant in terra illa contemni, statuimus ut excommunicati vitentur secundum

canonicas functiones. Et si aliqui per annum contumaces extiterint, ex tunc temporaliter compellantur redire ad ecclesiasticam unitatem, ut quos a malo non retrahit timor Dei, faltem poena temporalis compellat. Unde præcipimus quod baillivi nostri omnia bona talium excommunicatorum mobilia et immobilia post annum capiant, nec eis aliquo modo ea restituant, donec prædicti absoluti fuerint, et ecclesiæ satisfecerint, nec tunc etiam, nisi de nostro speciali mandato. Decimæ fane quibus fuit ecclesia longo tempore per malitiam inhabitantium defraudata, statuimus et ordinamus quod restituantur ecclesiis, et amplius laici decimas non detineant, sed eas ecclesiis libere habere permittant. Hæc statuta inviolabiliter observari jubemus, mandantes quod barones, et vassali, et bonæ villæ jurent ista servare, baillivis nostris ad hoc executoribus deputatis, qui infra mensem, postquam fuerint in bailliviis constituti, publice, et in loco publico, et die solemni, jurent quod hæc servabunt, et facient ab omnibus bona fide servari: quod si non fecerint, poenam bonorum omnium et corporis, poterunt formidare. Noveritis etiam quod ista statuta sic volumus observari, quod etiam quando frater noster terram ipsam tenebit, jurabit se hæc observare, et quod faciet a suis fidelibus observari. Ut autem hæc statuta firma et inconcussa permaneant, ea sigilli nostri munimine fecimus communiri. Actum Parisiis anno gratiæ mcccxxviii. mense Aprili.'

In other manuscripts, the date is of the following year:

The king St Louis published another edict in explanation of the preceding one, dated au bois de Vincennes, in the month of April 1259. Upon some difficulties which the inquisitors had met with in the seneschalships of Carcassonne and Beaucaire, king Philip the hardy, in like manner, issued another in explanation of these two edicts dated Paris, Wednesday the eve of the feast of St Andrew the apostle.

The chronicle of the abbots of Castres, which has lately been given to the public by the reverend father Dom Luc d'Achery, reports in the 7th volume of his Specilegium some verses which show that the bishops and other ecclesiastics forced by imprisonment such as were excommunicated to resort to absolution; but as temporal punishments concerned the secular arm, the royal judges always opposed this mode of punishment, and maintained that it belonged to their sole jurisdiction. The verses alluded

to are in the eulogium of Godfrey de Muret, abbot of Castres, who lived about the year 1110, page 342.

‘ Adstricti Satanæ qui sunt anathematæ diro,
Noluntque absolvi, restituique Deo :
Post annum hos Præsul voluit compellere duro
Carcere, sic artans corpus, et una animam.
Vincula ferre duo populo renuente, querela
Nascitur hinc ingens inter utrumque forum.’

(xxviii) *Guy d'Auseure*. This Guy bishop of Auxerre, brother to Dreux de Melo, lord of Loches and of Châtillon-sur-Indre, was probably chosen by the clergy as their spokesman on account of his eloquence and his being well versed in public business. This is the eulogium given to him by pope Clement IV. in his 99th epistle. ‘ Dedit tibi Dominus spiritum sapientiæ, et linguam contulit eruditam, et sensum tuum insuper multi jam temporis experientia solidavit, ita ut nihil tibi desit in ulla gratia.’

(xxix) *The peace which he concluded with the king of England*. The preliminaries of this peace were settled at London on the Monday after St Valentine's day in the year 1258, between Guy dean of St Martin's church in Tours, Odo treasurer of the church of Bayeux, and sir Richard de Menou the king of France's knight, as commissioners from the said king on the one part, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, constable of England, and William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, commissioners from the king of England on the other part. This preliminary treaty is now to be seen in the Trésor des Chartes du Roi, with the seals of these two earls attached to it. It is similar to the one which Claude Menard has given in his Observations, both in terms and substance, excepting that it is drawn up as a plan on which the definitive treaty of peace was afterward formed.

The arms of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, (whose family was originally from Normandy, where the lordship of Fors is situated) represented on his seal, have a cross pattée of Vair, which proves an error made by Ralph

Brook, and Vincent, Rouge Croix, his corrector, in the Collections which they have made of the arms of the english dukes and earls, wherein they have given this earl 'un écu d'argent au chef de gueules.'

They have been again mistaken, in giving to the two Stephens earls of Albemarle, of the house of Blois or of Champagne, the cross pattée de Vair, which are the arms of de Fortibus. The arms of Stephen, first of the name, being an escutcheon plain, with a bordure componé, as Andrew du Chesne has noticed in respect to the seal of this earl, in his genealogical history of the house of Bethune, page 152.

(xxx) *Reginald de Troie*. Should be *de Trie*. The countess of Boulogne, of whom our author is speaking, was Matilda, only daughter and heiress of Reginald count de Dammartin by Ide countess of Boulogne. She was twice married; first to Philip of France, surnamed Hurepel, son to Philip Augustus by Agnes de Meranie. From this union was born Jane, an only daughter, who was married to Gaucher de Châtillon, lord de Saint Agnan, and died childless. The countess Matilda married, secondly, Alfonso, afterward king of Portugal, who in like manner died without posterity in the year 1258, and not in 1260, as M. Justel has advanced. After his decease, there were many disputes relative to the succession, which are fully discussed in the history of the house of Châtillon, book 3. ch. 8.

The county of Dammartin fell to the family of Trie, as being the nearest heirs on the side from whence that estate came; for Alberic II. count de Dammartin, left, among other children, Reginald count de Dammartin and de Boulogne, father to the countess Matilda, and another daughter called Alicia, who married John lord of Trie and of de Moucy, from which union sprung Matthew, Reginald, Enguerrand and Bertrand de Trie. Matthew, according to Andrew du Chesne, in his history of the house of Dreux, l. 1. ch. 4. succeeded his cousin Maude, daughter of Reginald, in the county of Dammartin. But the lord de Joinville says expressly in this part, that he who immediately succeeded Maude in this county was Reginald de Trie.

This also is conformable to what I have read in an account of the bailiffs of France and of Normandy made up to Candlemas in the year 1268, wherein Girard de Cheurefis, bailiff of Senlis, renders an account to the

exchequer of the counts of Paris, at the chapter of Clermont, ‘de rachato Escaetæ comitissæ Boloniæ redditæ de novo per dom. regem comiti de Domnomartino.’ So that the escheat of the succession of Maude not having been restored by the king before the years 1266 or 1267, it follows that Maude, who died before that period without leaving posterity, did not enjoy it, but her brother Reginald, who thenceforward stiled himself count de Dammartin, as may be seen in the justificatory proofs of the history of the house of Châtillon, page 84.

(XXXI) *Under the king's seal.* It is not easy to guess why the family of Trie should have obtained letters patent from St Louis for the security of the succession of Maude, since they were her legitimate heirs. The county of Dammartin, with other lordships belonging to Reginald, father to Maude, were confiscated on account of rebellion, but they were all restored to his daughter, in consideration of her marriage with Philip of France, who acknowledges by letters, dated from Melun in the month of February 1223, (which are inserted in the 31st register of the Tresor des Chartes, fol. 75.) that the king, Louis VIII, his brother, had given him in exchange for the lands of Constantin, the county of Clermont, and ‘quarterium Domni-Martini, in feodis, boscis, et planis,’ which the king, Philip, his father, ‘a rectis eorum hæredibus comparaverit.’ By other letters, of the month of January 1233, Matilda, countess of Boulogne, declares she does homage to the king for the county of Boulogne, which had devolved to her as heiress to her mother; and then she adds, ‘Item feci eidem Domino meo regi homagium ligium contra omnes homines et feminas qui possunt vivere et mori, de hæreditati quam pater meus Renaldus quondam comes Bolonicæ habuit apud Domnum-Martinum, tanquam de hæreditate ex parte patris mei.’ Whence it results that the county of Dammartin had been restored to the heirs of Reginald, without any charge or condition; and the difficulty still remains why the lands of Maude were seized by the king, and for what purpose these letters were obtained. This happened before the death of Maude, since the lord de Joinville declares that the seal on these letters was that St Louis made use of before his expedition to the holy land, that is to say in the year 1248, and the countess did not die before 1258.

(xxxii) *Le chantel or chateau*, was that side of the seal on which the footstool of the king was. Philippes Mouskes, in the life of Robert, king of France, says,

‘ La lance et l’escu en cantiel ;’

That is to say on the side shields and bucklers were commonly worn, namely on the left side. The romance of Guarin uses other terms :

‘ Au col ly pendant un escu de cartier.’

And elsewhere,

‘ Quant cop ly donne sur l’escu de cartier.’

(xxxiii) *John Sarazin*. This John Sarrazin is styled chamberlain to the king in a title of the year 1266, in the proofs to the history of the house of Guines, page 379, and in another of the year 1269, in the proofs to the history of the house of Vergy, p. 172, and likewise in another of the year 1270, in the trefor des chartes du roi, laiette obligations, iii. tit. 5.

It was in this quality that the king, St Louis, sent for him, to compare the seal, that had been affixed to the letters of Reginald de Trie, with that of other letters which he had sealed, because the great chamberlain, or, in his absence, the first chamberlain, had the care of the king’s privy seal, and sealed with it the letters of his sovereign, as I have shewn in my observations on the history of Villehardouin. This persuades me that these letters were not letters patent, which are usually sealed with the great seal, the keeping of which belonged to the chancellor.

John Sarrazin was dead in the year 1275, as I learn from another title in the trefor des chartes, in which his widow is called Agnes, Laitte, Pierre la Brosse, tit. 159. I believe that the family of Saracino, in the kingdom of Naples, owes its extraction and origin to France, whence it passed to that kingdom with king Charles I. Ammirato mentions it in the genealogies of the Caraffa, the Campanile and the Tufo families.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
THE SECOND PART
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

(I) *Was born.* ST Louis came into this world on the festival of Saint Mark, the 25th of April, in the year 1215, at Poissy, where is still to be seen, in the chapel called by the name of St Louis, in the cathedral church, a large vase of free stone, elevated on a high pedestal, which is said to be the font wherein St Louis was baptised.

(II) *The black crosses.* Durantus, in *rationali divinor. offic. lib. 6. cap. 102.* remarks, that this procession, which is annually made on the feast of St Mark, and which the whole church acknowledges, under the name of *Litania major*, was instituted by pope Gregory the great, for reasons mentioned in his life, written by Johannes Diaconus, and the authors who have treated of the divine offices, is now known under the name of the Black Crosses, from the altars and crosses being that day covered with black, in remembrance of the great mortality which happened at Rome in consequence of the plague, and which caused this great pope to institute public prayers. ‘*Litania hæc dicitur Gregoriana, vel Romana. Vocatur etiam cruces nigræ, quoniam in signum mœroris ex tanta hominum strage, et in*

fignum pœnitentiæ, homines nigris vestibus induebantur, et cruces et altaria nigris velabantur.'

This agrees with what St Gregory himself writes, in his epistle to the bishop of Ravenna, when he calls this procession, 'Tempus cineris et cilicii;' and with the remark which the author of the Micrologue, ch. 57. makes on this subject, saying, that the holy fathers had ordered that for this reason the procession should be made 'non equitando, non vestibus pretiosis utendo, sed in cinere et cilicio.'

With regard to what the lord de Joinville says, that in certain places this procession was called the Black Crosses, it is only the mode of expression of those times, when all sorts of processions were called Crosses. Thus in Wolfard, in the 3d book of his history of the miracles of St Wauburge, ch 2. n. 11. rogation-week is called 'Hebdomada crucium,' and further on, 'Accidit ut eo tempore quo per universum mundum cruces in rogationibus solemniter fieri solent,' &c.

John Robert, in his commentaries on the life of St Hubert, observes, chap. 4. that at the present day in the Luxembourg, all processions are called Crosses, and those which are confined to the boundaries of different parishes 'Croix banales.'

(III) *He was crowned*,—on the first day of December 1226, by the hands of the bishop of Soissons, the archbishoprick of Rheims being then vacant. William Guiart sings,

' Receut Saint Loys la couronne
Des mains de l'evesque de Seffons,
Car se le voir n'entrelessons,
Parquoy foions empoeschié,
De Rains vacoit l'archeveschié.'

Philippe Mouskes says, that he was crowned by the archbishop of Sens, and describes at great length the whole of the ceremony, naming all those who assisted at it. See Nangis, Albericus, &c.

I found in an old roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris a state of the expenses of this coronation, entitled, 'Expensæ pro Coronatione Regum,'

in these terms: 'Expenses incurred for the coronation of the king saint Louis, in the month of November 1226.'

Bread,	-	-	-	896	livres.
Bread for the king, pies, and making,	38				
Wine,	-	-	-	991	
Kitchen expenses,	-	-	-	1356	4 fols
Wax and fruit,	-	-	-	138	
The king's chamber,	-	-	-	914	10
The queen's expenses,	-	-	-	320	
Wages and deliveries for the king's household, and for the king when beyond sea,	-	-	-	400	
Sum total,				5053	14

(iv) *The count of Brittany*, Pierre de Dreux, surnamed Mauclerc, who had withdrawn himself from the king's homage, as is apparent from the following deed:

'Univerſis præſentes litteras inſpecturis. P. Dux Britanniaë Comes Richmond Sal. Noveritis quod nos mittimus regi Franciaë per T. templarium latorem præſentium has præſentes litteras. Rex adjornaverat comitem Britanniaë ad dominicam poſt natale apud Meledunum, cui diei ipſe dominus rex noluit intereſſe. Comes illuc miſit, et regi mandavit, quod terminus quem ei poſuerat, non erat competens, quia non erat de quadraginta diebus, et propter hoc requiſivit alium terminum competentem ab illis qui erant loco regis ibidem ad faciendum quod debent, et propter hoc comes fecit ſcribi omnes queremonias ſuas et injurias, quas rex et mater ſua et ſui ei fécerant, et ſcriptum illud ſuper queremoniis traditum fuit illis qui erant loco regis. Quod ſcriptum ſicut factum fuit intelligi comiti, noluit regina quod oftenderetur baronibus et probis hominibus Franciaë, imo aliter eis fecit intelligi voluntatem ſuam; comes nunquam potuit habere emendationem de injuriis, et malis ſibi factis per regem et ſuos. Niſi hoc quod ipſe rex fecit deſaiſiri eundem comitem de eo quod ab ipſo tenebat in

Andegavia, unde erat homo suus, et castrum suum de Belifmo, quod similiter ab ipso tenebat, obsedit, et terram suam fecit destrui, et homines suos fecit interfici.

‘ Hæc mala cum aliis malis fecit ei rex sine defectu juris quem comes fecisset, et sine eo quod nunquam fuisset adjornatus per regem, nec ante, nec post, nisi ad dictum diem propter has injurias, et propter alias de quibus comes non potuit habere emendationem, mandat ipse comes regi quod se non tenet plus pro homine suo, imo ab homagio suo recedit, et in hoc recessu intelligit comes diffidationem. Actum anno gratiæ, 1229, die Dominica in Octavis B. Hilarii.’

See d’Argentré, Fauchet, l. 2. des Poetes François, ch. 13. &c.

(v) *Here comes king Richard.* Raoul de Coggeshall, whose manuscript is in the library of St Victor at Paris, Matthew Paris, John Brompton and other english historians of the year 1172; Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 99. Sanudo, l. 3. part 11. ch. 1. le Moine de Saint Marian d’Auxerre, and others, speak most amply of the great actions and deeds of arms of king Richard I. in the holy land: but they have all omitted this circumstance mentioned by the lord de Joinville, who has taken it, as he says himself, from the history of the holy wars written in the vulgar tongue, which I have read in manuscript, and which relates the same thing in these terms: ‘ From whence it happened, &c. king Richard was so feared in the country that whenever a Saracen mother perceived her children crying, she said to them, ‘ Do not make a noise, for here is king Richard!’ and he was so dreaded that the children gave over crying instantly.’

Matthew of Westminster relates that in the year 1240, when Richard earl of Cornwall arrived in the holy land, the Saracens, ‘ Cæperunt nimis prudentiam et potentiam comitis formidare, tum quia hoc nomen Richardus, adhuc Saracenis inimicum ipsum intitulavit, tum quia auro et argento abundavit,’ &c.

We may refer the following verses, which were made on king Richard, to the great opinion the Saracens had of his valour:

‘ Si recolis pro rege, facit joppe tua, quam tot
Millibus oppositus solus defendit, et Acon,

Quam virtute tua tibi reddidit, et crucis hostes,
 Quos vivus omnes sic terruit, ut timeatur
 Mortuus, ipse fuit sub quo tua tuta fuerunt.'

(vi) *Gave him to wife.* See Jacques de Vitry, Matthew Paris, &c.

(vii) *Married sir Ayrart de Brienne.* Henry II. count of Champagne, left by Isabella queen of Jerusalem, at that time widow of Conrad de Montferrat, two daughters; Alicia, married to Hugh I. king of Cyprus, and Philippa, who espoused, in the year 1204, Airard de Brienne, lord of Rameru, who for some time contested the county of Champagne against Thibault V. brother to Henry. The history of this dispute is related at length by Du Tillet, Vignier in his history of the house of Luxembourg, Messieurs de Sainte Marthe, Odoricus Raynald in his ecclesiastical annals, and by others.

(viii) *From whom descended a numerous progeny.* See the list of nobles who went on the expedition to the holy land, ch. 1. Vignier; du Chefne, in the histories of the families of Châtillon and of Bethune.

(ix) *The queen of Cyprus.* Alicia, eldest daughter of Henry count of Champagne by the queen of Jerusalem.

(x) *The daughter of Peter count of Brittany.* Joland, who was afterward married to Hugh XI. count de la Marche et d'Angoulême.

(xi) *Geoffry de la Chapelle.* He is styled Panetier de France, in a title of the year 1240, among the proofs to the history of the house of Dreux, p. 258; and at the oath of allegiance of the burgeses of Paris, which they gave in the year 1251, on the Monday preceding the feast of the nativity of Saint John, to queen Blanche, who was attended on this occasion by Philip, archbishop of Bourges, John bishop of Evreux, Stephen count of Sancerre, Geoffry lord of Meudon, doctor William of Sens, and by the dean of Saint Agnan d'Orleans. The following year he was present when the

counsellors of the parliament of Paris gave judgment in favour of the priory of St Martin des Champs.

See the history of this priory, l. 3. pp. 206, 208.

(xii) *The duke of Lorraine.* Matthew II. of the name. See Albericus in the years 1229, 1230, and 1234, where this war with the count de Champagne is amply detailed.

(xiii) *Peace was made between them.* This peace was concluded in the year 1234, of which the following are the terms :

‘ Excellentissimo et carissimo domino suo Ludovico, Dei gratia Francorum regi A. eadem gratia R. Cypri salutem, et dilectionem sibi sinceram. Excellentiae vestrae supplicamus, et vos requirimus, quatenus subscriptis litteris vestrum apponi faciatis sigillum. Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex: noverint universi praesentem paginam inspecturi, quod nobilis mulier Elipdis regina Cypri, in praesentia nostra constituta, quittavit carissimo consanguineo et fideli nostro Theobaldo Campaniae et Briae comiti Palatino, omne jus quod habebat, vel dicebat se habere in comitatibus Campaniae et Briae et pertinentiis eorundem, et de eodem jure se destituit in manu nostra. Et nos ad petitionem dictae reginae investivimus de eodem jure dilectum et fidelem nostrum Archembaldum de Borbonio nomine dicti comitis, salvo hoc, quod si dictus comes decederet sine haerede ab ipso linea matrimoniali descendente, supra dicta non obessent dictae reginae, quia posset petere dictos comitatus, sicut poterat ante, nec propter superscripta jus suum minueretur, vel augmentaretur. Promissimus etiam quod quando assisia duarum millium librarum terrae erunt factae dictae reginae, nos omnia sicut continentur in charta dictae reginae tradita, dicto comiti faciemus scribi, et sigillari, et tradi dicto comiti et iis omnibus supra dictis et sigillatis, et dicto comiti traditis praesentes litterae nobis reddentur. Actum anno gratiae mcccxxxiv, mense Septembri.’

Henry king of Cyprus, son to the queen Alicia, afterward surrendered all his rights to these counties of Champagne and Brie to John de Brienne, son of Walter de Brienne, by Mary of Cyprus, his sister, by deeds dated Nicosia, in the year 1247.

(xiv) *Sold to the king.* The following is a copy of the deed of sale :
 ‘ Ego Theobaldus, Campaniæ et Briæ comes Palatinus notum facio, &c.
 Quod ego carissimo domino meo Ludovico regi Francorum illustri vendidi
 pro xl. mill. librar. Turon. de quibus idem dominus rex mihi plene
 satisfecit, feoda mea comitatus Carnotensis cum pertinentiis suis, comitatus
 Blefensis cum pertinentiis suis, comitatus Sacrocæsaris cum pertinentiis suis,
 et vice comitatus Castridunensis cum pertinentiis suis, et omnia jura quæ in
 prædictis habebam, tam in feodis, quam in domaniis ratione prædictorum
 feodorum eidem domino regi et hæredibus suis habenda in perpetuum et
 tenenda, retento mihi eo quod habeo in comitatu Particensi in feodis et
 domaniis quod movet de feodo Carnotensi, et quod comes Carnotensis debet
 de domino rege tenere. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis litteras sigilli
 mei munimine roboravi. Actum anno incarnat. Dom. 1234, mense
 Septembri.’

This sale was confirmed by Alicia queen of Cyprus.

‘ Universis præsentis litteras inspecturis, A. Dei gratia regina Cypri,
 salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod venditionem illam quam dilectus
 consanguineus noster Theobaldus comes Campaniæ fecit illustrissimo domino
 Ludovico R. Francorum, de feodo Blefensi, Carnotensi, Castriduni, Sacricæsaris
 et eorum pertinentiis pro xl. millibus librarum Turonensium, quas idem
 dominus rex nobis solvit pro comite supra dicto, et de quibus nos tenemus
 pro pagatis, volumus, et concedimus, gratam gerimus, et acceptum; et pro
 nobis et hæredibus nostris, quittamus eidem domino regi, et ejus hæredibus
 in perpetuum si quid juris in dictis feodis, vel eorum pertinentiis habebamus,
 vel ullo unquam tempore habere debebamus. Et licet in compositione facta
 inter nos et supradictum comitem sit contentum, et inter nos conventum,
 quod si idem comes sine hærede ab ipso matrimoniali linea descendente
 decederet, jus nostrum si aliquod habebamus in comitatibus Campaniæ atque
 Briæ nobis salvum sit, vel ita quod propter illam compositionem nihil nobis
 diminutum sit, vel adauctum, non obstante hoc dicta feoda cum eorum
 pertinentiis eidem domino rege, et ejus hæredibus concedimus habenda in
 perpetuum et tenenda, &c. Quod ut firmum, &c. Actum anno Dom.
 mcccxxxiv. mense Novembri.’

Thus it is evident that these fiefs were not bought with a power of redemption, as was supposed at the time, and as Albericus has stated in the year 1236, but were completely sold and alienated.

(xv) *The count de Brienne.* Walter IV. son of Hugh count de Brienne, and grandson to count Walter III. who had married Mary daughter to Hugh de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, by Alicia, daughter to Henry count of Champagne by Isabella queen of Cyprus. See le Lignage d'Outremer, chap. 2.

(xvi) *For he was liberal and bountiful.* We may refer, for confirmation, to the handsome eulogium Albericus gives of this prince in the year 1163.

‘ Florebat in Francia palatinus Campaniæ comes Henricus, quin potius Francia per illum, vir de quo dubium genere nobilior esset, an animo : cui Franciæ regina soror et filia regis uxor, et in quo constabat sibi regnum constituisse virtutes, et regiam plusquam regalis munificentiae largitatem. Novum et jocundum in eo spectaculum genus exhibebat invidiæ, pia contentio, laudis certamen inter famam et meritum ejus, quod scilicet peregrando circum niterentur invicem prævenire : fama tamen et merito vincebatur. Nam quod præcedente merito premebatur a comite præcis gestorum titulis, et sparsis longe lateque beneficiorum radiis enitebatur.’

It was not, therefore, without reason, that he was styled the Liberal. The old french word *large* is the derivative of *largesse*, which expresses liberality. In the manuscript of the Doctrinal,

‘ Se vos estes cortois, et larges et metans.’

The Latins use the word *largus* in the same sense. ‘ Jo. de Janua ; largus a largior, abundans, affluens, et qui libentur dat, seu largitur.’ Saint Gregory PP. l. 7. ind. 1. ep. 33. ‘ Ne avaritiæ te graviter culpa redarguat, quem largum erga monasteria sacerdotalis magis debuerat munificentia demonstrare.’

And Julius Firmicus, ‘ de errore profan. relig. illum quem despicias pauperem, largus et dives est :’ which the learned Woweren renders improperly *lautus*.

(xvii) *The church of St Stephen in Troyes.* Camusat, in his antiquities of Troyes, speaks fully of the foundation of this church, and inserts the epitaphs of this count, and of some of his successors, who were buried there. Albericus, as quoted before, mentions it in these terms: ‘Inter insignia suorum operum illud jubare splendore refulsit, quod ecclesiam palatio suo contiguam in honore gloriosi protomartyris Stephani (prout instruxit eum, quem erga Deum habebat, amor) extruxit, ditavit, prædiis ornavit, holosericis thesauris, clero laudes exultatione divinas spiritali decantante celebriter, honoravit. Fateor me non vidisse, legisse nec memini tantæ liberalitatis extitisse principem.’

(xviii) *Arthault de Nogent.* This Artaud, or Hertaud, lord of Nogent, and his wife Hodierne, are mentioned in a title of the year 1182, in the cartulary of St Germain des Près, and in another of the year 1206, this Hodierne is styled Lady of Nogent. Their son William appears also with his wife Matilda in others of the years 1212 and 1265, in the last of which he takes the surname of Acy: ‘Gulielmus de Aciaco, miles, dominus de Nogento Ertaudi.’ He is found also among those who did homage to Thibaud king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, in the year 1256, in a register in the chamber of accounts at Paris.

There is mention made of another ‘Gulielmus de Nogento Artaudi Armiger Sueffionensis diæcesis, filius et hæres Gulielmi filii Hodiernæ de Nogento,’ in a title of the year 1261, in the same cartulary of St Germain des Près.

(xix) *Held their counties from their elder brother.* This passage will furnish the subject of my third dissertation on our author, in which I shall explain the use and origin of ‘Frerage et Parage.’

(xx) *A great court at Saumur.* In the year 1241. See Nangis, Guil. Guyart, &c. and in my fourth dissertation, and the succeeding ones, wherein I shall treat of the magnificence of our kings in these great courts or assemblies.

(XXI) *The count de Poitiers.* Alphonso, brother to St Louis, who had been created a knight by the king on the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist, in the year 1241, at which time he likewise gave him the county of Poitou. See M. Paris, p. 383.

(XXII) *John count de Dreux,* son of Robert III. count de Dreux, by d'Aënor de St Valery, the first who bore the name of John. He died at Cyprus.

(XXIII) *The count de la Marche.* Hugh X. surnamed le Brun, count de la Marche and d'Angoulême.

(XXIV) *Clasp or fermail,* was a sort of medal, or ornament, like the diamond ornaments now in fashion, which was fastened not only to the shoulder where the folds of the mantle met, in like manner to the *latus clavus* of Romans, but also on the front of the cap, as diamonds are now worn. In war it was fastened to the hood, on the coat of arms, or in some other conspicuous place. Women wore them on their breast. Froissart, in the 154th chapter of the 2d volume, says, 'He received, as the prize, a clasp of precious stones, which the duchess of Burgundy detached from her breast.'

It is for this reason, that the latin and french MS. glossary translates the word *monile* clasp or fermail. Elsewhere *redimiculum* a female ornament, as a clasp, chaplet or girdle. Johannes de Janua calls it 'Fibularium, quod apponitur mantello, vel per quod immittuntur fibulæ, ne dissipetur mantellum.' But I suspect he intended to have called it *fibulatorium*, which the greek and latin glossary defines to be the diminutif of *fibula*. Πορπη, *fibula*, πορπη, ὑποκοριστικῶς, *fibulatorium*. This word is met with in Trebellius Pollio, in the life of Regillianus, and in the librarian Anastasius's history of the popes, pp. 72, and 197. edit regia.

Constantine Porphyrogenetes, de administr. Imp. cap. 53. uses the word Φιλατερα. See Chifflet, in Anastasi Childerici Regis, cap. 16. wherein he treats amply 'de fibulis aureis et gemmatis veterum;' and also Saumaïse in not. ad Tertul. de Pallio, pp. 62, 63.

(xxv) *The count d'Artois.* Robert, brother to the king.

(xxvi) *Imbert, or Humbert, de Beaujeu,* lord de Montpensier and d'Aigueperse, son of Guichard de Beaujeu, lord of Montpensier, by Catherine of Clermont or of Auvergne.

(xxvii) *Honourat de Coucy.* It should be Enjorrans or Enguerrand, which was the name of this lord de Coucy, who in some latin deeds calls himself Injorrannus. See du Chefne's history of the house of Coucy, book 6. chap. 6. and likewise in the proofs. In Sanudo, l. 3. part 11. c. 1. Enguerrand de Boues is misnamed Emorans instead of Enjorrans.

(xxviii) *Archibald de Bourbon,* the ninth of the name, son of Archibald the eighth, lord of Bourbon, of the house of Dampierre. He died in Cyprus. See to. 7. Spicileg. p. 223.

(xxix) *The count de la Marche.* See William Guiart and Matthew of Westminster, among others, respecting the treaty, and this new war of the count de la Marche.

(xxx) *Had large tracts of lands,* which are specified and named in the treaty of peace then concluded between the king and the count de la Marche, and which I shall copy at length below from the 31st register of the Trésor des Chartes.

‘ Hugo de Lesignam comes Marchiæ et Angolismæ, et Yfabellis D. G. regina Angliæ dictorum comitissa locorum, universis præsentis litteras inspecturis, salutem. Noveritis quod cum guerra esset inter nos ex una parte, et carissimos dominos nostros Ludovicum regem Francorum illustrem, et comitem Pictaviensem fratrem ipsius domini regis ex altera, tandem post plures conquestas, quas idem dominus fecit super nos, nos et filii nostri, videlicet Hugo Bruni, Guido, et Gaufridus de Lesignam Milites ad ipsum dominum regem venientes, nos et terram nostram alte et basse ipsius domini regis supposuimus voluntati, et antequam dominus rex in sua voluntate nos reciperet, dixit nobis quod conquestas, quas jam conquifierat

per se et gentes suas super nos, videlicet Xantonas cum Castellania cum pertinentiis, Forestam, domum de la Vergna, et totum jus quod habebamus in Ponte Labai, Monasterolum cum appenditiis, suis Fronteneium cum appenditiis, Langestum, S. Gelasium cum appenditiis, Præc cum appenditiis, Taunaium super Votonam cum appenditiis, Clausam, Bauceium feoda, quæ tenebat a nobis comite Marchiæ Comes Augi; feodum Renaudi de Pontibus, feodum Gaufridi de Ranconio, et feoda quæ tenebat Gaufridus de Lesignam a nobis comite Marchiæ, et grande feodum de Alniaco, et omnes alias conquestas, quas idem dominus rex fecit super nos, usque ad hodiernum diem per ipsum, et gentes suas, ipse domino regi, fratri suo prædicto comiti Pictaviensi, et eorum hæredibus in perpetuum retinebit: quæ nos coram pluribus de episcopis et baronibus, et hominibus domini regis concessimus. Volumus insuper et concessimus, quod idem dominus rex esset quitus et immunis de V. millibus librar. Turon. quas dabat nobis quolibet anno, et quod similiter esset quitus de conventionibus, quas nobiscum habebat, quod sine nobis cum rege Angliæ pacem, et treugam facere non posset. Concessimus insuper quod omnes aliæ conventiones, quæ usque ad hodiernum diem fuerunt inter claræ memoriæ regem Ludovicum genitorem prædicti domini regis, ipsum dominum regem, et dominum comitem Pictaviensem fratrem suum, et literæ super dictis conventionibus factæ irritæ sint et nullæ, et quod ad eas observandas prædicti dominus rex, et dominus Comes Pictaviæ frater suus nullo modo de cætero teneantur. Et cum, ut supra dictum est, nos et filii nostri prædicti, nos et terram nostram supposuimus voluntati domini regis, voluntas ipsius domini regis talis fuit, quod ipse nos Hugonem comitem Marchiæ recepit in hominem ligium de comitatu Angolismæ, et Castris, et Castellania de Cogniaco, et Jarniaco, de Merpino, et de Alba terra, de Villa Boen et pertinentiis prædictorum, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris remanebunt, salvis prædictis, quæ idem dominus rex et gentes suæ conquiverunt super nos, quæ eidem domino regi, et dicto fratri suo domino comiti Pictaviensi, ut supra dictum est, in perpetuum remanebunt.

‘ Et nos comes Marchiæ de prædictis, scilicet de comitatu Angolismæ, castris et castillaniis de Cogniaco, de Jarniaco, de Merpino, de Alba-terra, de Villa-Boen, et pertinentiis prædictorum, salvis prædictis conquestis quæ

domino regi, et dicto domino comiti Pictaviensi fratri suo, ut supradictum est, remanebunt, fecimus eidem domino regi homagium ligium contra omnes homines et fœminas, qui possunt vivere et mori, salva fide prædicti comitis Pictaviensis fratris sui.

‘ Similiter fecimus homagium ligium contra omnes homines et fœminas qui possunt vivere et mori, prædicto domino comiti Pictaviensi fratri regis, et de Lesignam et comitatu Marchiæ et pertinentiis eorundum, falvis prædictis conquestis, quæ domino regi et domino comiti Pictaviensi fratri suo, ut supra dictum est, remanebunt. Concessit dominus rex nobis et hæredibus nostris quod nos in dominio regis Angliæ, seu comitis fratris sui, vel hæredum suorum non ponet sine libera voluntate.

‘ Prædicta autem, prout superius sunt expressa, volumus et concessimus, et præstito juramento corporali promissimus nos tenere, observare, et nullo modo per nos, vel per alium contravenire, nec aliquid attentare : quod ut firmum sit et stabile, præsentibus litteris sigilla nostra fecimus apponi. Actum in Castris Geria prope villam Pontium, anno Domini MCCLII, mense Augusto.’

(xxx1) *Had not put on a coat of mail.* This justifies what I have advanced in the genealogy of the house of Joinville, that John lord of Joinville was not a knight in the year 1243, and consequently had not attained the age of twenty-one, which was the age to receive the order of knighthood, and put on the hauberk, which was a species of armour peculiar to knights. Hence it comes that those who possessed fiefs of hauberk in Normandy, ‘ qui per loricas terras suas serviebat,’ to use the terms of the laws of William I. king of England, were obliged to have horse and arms, and from the time they were twenty-one years of age to be created knights, in order that they might join the armies of their prince or other superior lord, on the first summons, as is noticed in the ancient MS. Coutumier of Normandy, 1. P. sect. 3. chap. 8.

When the term *loricati* is met with in ancient latin authors, it must be understood to mean such knights as were alone entitled to wear the hauberk, for before they wore but the arms of squires. I shall, however, defer to another opportunity speaking further of hauberks, and of hauberk fiefs.

(xxxii) *Attacked by a grievous malady.* The lord de Joinville says, this happened at Paris; but Nangis and the author of the Chronicle of Saint Denis say that it was at Pontoise. William Guiart particularly mentions the king being ill at the monastery of Maubuisson, and marks the year 1243 for the period, while the others place it in the following year.

(xxxiii) *Seeing him wear the cross.* Richer, monk of Sens, says, in his chronicle, ch. 10. that the king put on the cross in consequence of a vision that he had during this illness, and which he thus relates :

‘ Rex Francorum gravi detentus infirmitate usque ad mortem ægrotavit, cui talis apparuit visio. Videbat se in transmarinis partibus esse constitutum : ibi enim nostri Christiani et saraceni ad pugnam parati erant, et congregientes acrius inter se pugnabant : et postquam diu pugnatum est, Saraceni nostros vicerunt, et omnes aut interficiebant aut captivos ad terram suam deducebant, ita quod de tanta multitudine nostrorum vix quindecim milites de bello fugientes remansisse dicerentur. Quod cum rex Franciæ videret, valde indoluit : cui fertur dictum fuisse, rex Franciæ hoc irrecuperabile damnum vindica. Rex autem ab hac visione reversus, vovit se ad terram sanctam post duos annos properaturum, et statim sibi crucem dari præcipiens, invita matre domina Blanchia, cruce signatus est. Pugna quippe ab ipso rege intuita accidit in festo St Andreæ, et sicut viderat verum fuit.’

Sanudo, book 3. part 12. ch. 1. relates at length how the king took the cross from the hands of the bishop of Paris during this illness, which happened about the feast of St Andrew.

Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, pp. 318 and 319, mention likewise several circumstances of this illness.

(xxxiv) *Hugh duke of Burgundy.* IV. of the name.

(xxxv) *William earl of Flanders.* Of the house of Dampierre.

(xxxvi) *Hugh count of St Pol.* Lord of Châtillon, youngest son to Gaucher III. lord of Châtillon by Elizabeth countess of St Pol. He died in Cyprus. See du Chesne, Ferry de Locres, &c.

(xxxvii) *His nephew Walter.* Others call him *Gaucher*: he was the son of Guy de Châtillon, eldest brother of count Hugh by Agnes de Donzy.

(xxxviii) *Hugh le Brun and his son.* The particle *and* is useless, for it should be *Hugh le Brun his son.* He is speaking of the son of the count de la Marche, who bore the same name as his father. See the additions to Matthew Paris, p. 109.

(xxxix) *Gaubert de Premot.* He means, by this name Gosbert, lord of Aspremont. This lord was the son of Gosbert, and grandson to Geoffry lords of Aspremont: his mother was Juliana, second daughter to Roger, lord of Rosoy, by Alicia d'Avesnes. Her name appears in various deeds of the years 1235 and 1251, in the cartulary of Champagne, wherein she is styled lady of Aspremont, and mother to Gosbert, lord of Aspremont, and to Guy d'Aspremont.

The history of the expedition of Frederic I. to the holy land, to. 5. antiq. lect. Canisii, informs us that Gosbert, husband to Juliana, followed the emperor in this expedition in the year 1188. From their marriage proceeded Geoffry, lord of Aspremont, who married the countess of Sarebruche, and died without issue. Gosbert, who succeeded to his brother, is the person whom the lord de Joinville here speaks of. John d'Aspremont, who had embraced an ecclesiastical life, and sir Guy d'Aspremont, died at Tunis at the same time as St Louis. He had likewise two daughters, the one a nun, and the other married in Germany.

With regard to Gosbert, lord of Aspremont, whom we are speaking of, he married Agnes, daughter of Thomas de Coucy, by whom he had two sons and as many daughters, namely, Geoffry and Thomas, who espoused two sisters, daughters of Nicholas, lord of Kieurain. The eldest daughter, Jane, married the count de Sarebruche. All this is taken from the Genealogies of Badouin d'Avesnes; and for further particulars respecting this family, the reader must refer to Albericus in the year 1239. L'Alloüette, in his History of Coucy, l. 4. chap. 8. Du Chesne, in the Proofs of the History of the House of Bar, pp. 24. 33. Louvet in his Genealogies of the Nobility of Beauvoisis, &c.

(XL) *The rich men.* Our author makes use of this mode of expression in several parts of his history, to point out the barons and great lords of a country, in imitation of the Spaniards, who divide their nobility into three orders, *Ricos ombres*, *Cavalleros*, and *Infanços*. These are called in France barons, knights and squires. The term baron is generally understood to mean all those who have a right to bear a banner in the wars, and are commonly called bannerets, but to whom the Spaniards give a more specific name, *ricos hombres de fenera*. Hieronimus Blanca in Comment. Rer. Arragon. often speaks of these rich men, or rather of these Spanish Ricombres, who are usually styled *rici homines* in latin deeds. M. d'Oyenart has likewise mentioned something of them in his notice of Gascony, book 2. chap. 4. André Bosch also in book 3. *dels tetols de honor de Carthalunya*, p. 320, informs us, that in Catalogne and in Arragon there are two sorts of rich men, namely, *les richs homens de natura*, and *les rich homens mesnaders*.

The first are called *Ricos ombres naturales del regno*, in book the first des Fors de Navarre, ch. 1. Many have thought that the *Ricombres* were thus named in Spain from the syllable *ric*, which is found to terminate the names of the greater part of the gothic kings; but I believe it more probably originates from another word which was common to the northern nations. *Ric*, which is the termination of most of the names of their chieftains, signifies rich, whence the Germans have formed the word *rück*, the French *riche*, and the Spaniards *rico*, to mark a person of opulency; and because great lords are commonly rich and powerful in land, they have been thus styled, besides, that all who abounded in landed property did not come under the title of *Ricos ombres*, for birth, fiefs, and distinguished lordships, alone gave this qualification.

This has made Bosch say, that *los rich homens* (of Arragon, who in Castille are styled Magnates) *erans aixi anomenats no per ser richs, o tenir molt bens, sino per effer de clart lignatge y poderosos, qui eran aquelles que tenien senyoria en los feus ques anomenavan honors, &c.*

With regard to this mode of speech observed in France, we have an example of it in a french deed inserted in the history of Mat. Paris in the year 1247, page 83; and in an ordinance of Philippes le hardy, of the month of December in the year 1275, which is in the register of the treasure

of Chartres, fol. 49 & 58, 'et se l'en trouvoit aulcun riche home coustumier de faire encontre les ordonnances, nous voulons,' &c.

William Guiart, in the year 1302 :

'Males et tentes la estoient,
Où li riche home la nuit gifent.'

And further on,

'Es rens dehors font li riche home,
Très bien armés jusques ès plantes.'

And elsewhere, according to Gasse,

'Moult i out riches homs, gran fu la baronie.'

In the MS. Affizes of Jerufalem, ch. 202, 'et se il avient que le chef feignor se doute d'aulcuns de ses riches homes, que il ait chastiau, ou cité, ou ville, et que il ait peuple d'armes,' &c.

In latin deeds, they are called *divites homines*. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'Pro robis datis militibus D. Philippi (filii S. Ludovici) et gentibus Camerae suae. Comes Drocensis, dom. de Borbonio, G. filius comitis Flandr. pro robis famiti, &c. pro co-opertoriis, &c. pro tribus dextrariis, et tribus palefridis dictorum divitum hominum 300 libr.' Wherein may be seen that the title of *riches hommes* is given to the king's children, and to the great lords. On the contrary, the common people are distinguished by William Guiart, under the terms of *pauvres hommes*, in the life of Philip Auguste :

'En cela part que j'ay descrite,
Que li rois Joïan leur ot dite,
Ou li povre homme de l'ost ierent.'

(XLI) *If there were none other.* Those who had put on the cross, and were preparing for these long and troublesome expeditions to the holy land, were accustomed, before their departure, to settle their affairs, to make their wills, and to fix portions for their children. And as their return was very uncertain, both from the difficulties of the journey, and the hazards and perils of war, the events of which are always doubtful, they commonly performed all such acts as those who are on the point of death usually observe; such as making restitution of whatever they may have seized or

usurped from the church or from private persons, for the discharge of their consciences. Title-deeds abound with these restitutions made to the church by knights before their departure for the holy land.

The lord de Joinville, although he did not feel himself guilty of any such usurpations, yet to satisfy the duty of his conscience, made preparations, before he set out on this expedition, to repair whatever wrongs he might have done to his neighbours, should there be any of them that made complaint against him.

Thus Hugh IX. count de la Marche, 'in procinctu itineris transmarini constitutus,' made his will in the year 1248, which is in the *Treſor des Chartes du Roi*, and contains, among other expressions, the following :

'Deinde statuo quod si hæreditatem alicujus detinerem minus juste, nec inde satisfecerim, circa articulum mortis meæ solvo restituo, et penitus quito: dum modo coram executoribus testamenti mei probare potuerint cognita veritate.'

Many persons therefore imagine that the greater part of the monasteries built towards the end of the eleventh century, and in the following ones, were solely founded from the restitutions which the great lords had made prior to their undertaking expeditions to such a great distance. See M. Perard in his *Memoirs of Burgundy*, p. 202.

(XLII) *I mortgaged.* The devotion of our first croifaders in the holy land, added to their courage and desire of acquiring glory and reputation in the wars, were so extraordinary, that they not only made no difficulty in abandoning their families and country, but even alienated or mortgaged the fairest parts of their possessions. Odericus Vitalis, in book the ninth, speaking of the first enterprizes of the croifaders, says, 'Mariti dilectas conjuges domi relinquere disponebant. Illæ vero gementes, relicta prole cum omnibus divitiis suis in peregrinatione viros suos sequi cupiebant. Prædia vero hæctenus chara, vili pretio nunc vendebantur, et arma emebantur, quibus ultio divina super allophylos exerceretur.'

Henry of Huntingdon, in his history of England, book the seventh, says, 'Hoc est miraculum Domini temporibus nostris factum, sæculis omnibus inauditum, ut tam diversæ gentes, tot fortissimi procures, relictis

possessionibus splendidis, uxoribus et filiis, omnes una mente loca ignotissima, morte sprete, petierint.'

And Anna Comnena, in the 10th book of her *Alexiade*, writing on this subject, speaks of our Paladins, και χηματιζόμενοι κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπερκεσται εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ ἁγίου ταφου τὰς ἰδίας σπιτωρασκον χώρας.

The history of these wars informs us, that Godfrey de Bouillon, Raymond count de St Gilles, William duke of Normandy, Boëmond duke de la Puglia, Harpin count de Bourges, and other great lords, sold or mortgaged their duchies or counties, to supply the means for the expense of so great an enterprize. Such was the height of their fervour; and in imitation of them, and following the example of his ancestors, the lord de Joinville did not fail to mortgage the better part of his estates, although they were then but small, on account of his mother's enjoying the larger share for her dower.

The facility with which the croifaders sold or mortgaged their lands, to afford them the means of undertaking these expeditions, gave rise to the spirited reply which king Philip Augustus made to John king of England, who having put on the cross, and afterwards sending his ambassadors to Philip, to demand 'ut aliquam partem terræ suæ, quam bello acquisierat, ei pro certa pecuniæ quantitate reddere dignaretur,' the king gave them this witty answer: 'Mirabile et inauditum esse, ut cruce signatus vellet emere, qui potius distrahere deberet, si suæ peregrinationi insisteret, sicut deberet.'

These are the words of Albericus in the year 1215. See also Guibert, lib. 2. Hist. Hieros. cap. 6. and Matt. Paris in the years 1240 and 1250, pp. 355. 517.

(XLIII) *Made them pay homage.* The king, Louis VIII. father to saint Louis, when taken ill of a grievous disorder at Montpensier, of which he died, exacted a similar oath from those barons who were then at court, as the letters of this king inform us, which remain in the cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'Liber principum: Ludovicus D. G. rex Francorum, universis amicis et fidelibus suis, ad quos litteræ præsentis pervenerint, salutem et dilectionem. Noverit universitas vestra quod dum nos apud Montpencier gravi valetudine corporis

laborare contigisset, timentes de periculo regni post decessum nostrum, provida deliberatione et præhabito salubri consilio, mandavimus dilectos et fideles nostros prælatos et barones, Bituricensē et Senonensē archiepiscopos, Belvacensē, Noviomensē, et Carnotensē episcopos, comitem Boloniæ, comitem Montisfortis, comitem de Sacrocæsare, et Joannem de Nigella, eosque rogavimus adjurantes, ut jurarent coram nobis, se quam citius posset, si de nobis humanitus contingeret, Ludovico majori filio nostro fidelitatem et homagium tanquam domino et regi bona fide facturos, et quod procurarent quod ipse, quam citius fieri posset, coronaretur in regem, &c. Actum apud Montpencier, anno 1226, mense Novembris.'

There are similar letters from these same barons in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king's library, fol. 132. and which are likewise in the *Treſor des Chartes du Roi*, Layette Melanges, the inventory of which is inserted in the first volume of the *Ceremonial de France*, p. 142.

King Charles VI. provided in the same manner for the security of the royal succession by his letters patent read publicly and aloud in the great chamber of the parliament, the king sitting on his bed of justice (these are the words of these letters), the morrow of the feast of Christmas, 26th Dec. 1407, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, Bourbon and Bavaria, the counts of Mortain, Nevers, Alençon, Clermont, Vendôme, St Pol, Tancarville, &c. of the constable of France, the archbishops of Sens and Bezançon, the bishops of Auxerre, Angers, Evreux, Poitiers and Gap; of the grand master of the household, and of all the officers of the superior courts of justice.

By these letters, the king declares and wills, 'that his eldest son, and the eldest sons of his successors however young they may be then, or at the time of his decease, or at that of his successors, should, instantly after such decease, be called to the crown and styled and reputed kings of France and successors to that throne; and should, as soon as may be after such decease, be crowned and consecrated king, without any one pretending, however nearly related he may be, to the regency or government of the kingdom. Should it, however, happen, that his aforesaid son be under age, in order that the realm may be wisely and properly governed, he wills that the queens mothers, should they be living, and the nearest relatives to the crown and to the then

blood-royal be a council of regency, aided by the advice of the constable and chancellor of France, and the most distinguished of the present council of state.'

These letters are in a register of the chamber of accounts at Paris marked H, containing charters and letters of Louis duke of Guyenne, dauphin of Viennois, and in the treatise on the majority of the kings of France by M. du Puy.

The king St Louis, before his departure, appointed his mother, the queen Blanche of Castille, regent of the kingdom. The letters of appointment are to be found in the proofs of the 'Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane,' ch. 16. n. 12.: add to this the 15th chap. notes 27, 28.

There is a title-deed of the month of February 1249, in the cartulary of the priory of Lihons en Sangters of the order of Cluny, ch. 12. which proves, that in this quality she took her seat in the parliament among the barons of France: 'Coram nobis cognoverunt quod judicatum fuit per veram sententiam in curia domini regis, per Blancham reginam Franciæ, et alios barones, qui debent et possunt de jure in Curia domini regis judicare, quod,' &c.

(XLIV) *Not being his subject.* Pierre de St Julien, in his antiquities of Châlons, p. 140, and after him M. Chiflet, in Vindiciis Hispan. have made use of this passage to justify, or rather to draw, this conclusion, that since the lord de Joinville did not acknowledge himself a subject of the king, it follows that the count de Champagne, under whom he held his fiefs, did not hold his county from the crown of France. As this is very important to history, I think it will afford room for one or more dissertations or digressions. By the first, I shall shew, that this passage can in no way lead to the consequence that has been drawn from it; and, in the second, I undertake to overturn the opinion which Chiflet has advanced, and completely to prove this dependance of the counts of Champagne on the kingdom of France, and that the counts of this province have been counts palatine of the empire.

See the 13th and 14th dissertations.

(XLV) *The abbot of Cheminon.* Cheminon was an abbey in the diocese of Châlons, of the order of Cistercians, of which Albericus, in the year 1110, and Cæfarius Heisterbac. lib. ii. Mirac. chap. 61. likewise make mention.

I have shewn, in my observations on Villehardouin, that the lords and gentlemen received the crosses from the hands of prelates, bishops and abbots, and have quoted this passage as my justification.

(XLVI) *My companion.* This word is commonly employed in the same sense as the Romans used ‘commilito,’ that is to say, companion in arms. The romance of Garin le Loherans,

‘D’armes foyons moy et toy compaignon,
Tien toy lés moy, gentil fuis à baron.’

And elsewhere,

‘Compaignons d’armes avons esté sept ans.’

And as it signifies equality of condition, it is also often employed to mark an independence of superiority. Whence it happened that gentlemen, who bore arms under the same chief, for example, two knights-bachelors under a banneret called themselves, and were stiled companions. In the ancient chronicle of Flanders, ch. 78. M. de Ray is stiled ‘compain du compte de Montbeliart.’ In the history of Charles VII. written by the herald Berry, p. 148. is ‘Floquet, compaignon dudit de Brezé en armes.’

Sometimes the word brother is added to that of companion, ‘Frere et compaignon d’armes,’ by some of our historians. But it is probable that the word brother, in this junction, meant something more than companion; but this I shall reserve for further discussion in the twenty-first dissertation.

(XLVII) *Le sire du Chateau.* William de Puylaurens, ch. 48. Nangis, the Chronicle of St Denis, and William Guyart, all relate this circumstance.

(XLVIII) *In the month of August.* Towards the end of that month; for the king had set out on the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, the

25th of August, some days before the lord de Joinville, who besides mentions that St Louis was in the island of Cyprus when he landed there.

(XLIX) *At the rock of Maffeilles.* He thus calls the promontory which incloses the port of Marfeilles, where the fort of Nôtre Dame de la Garde is placed. The writers of the middle ages often use the word rock to signify a fort or castle. ‘Chronicon Ceccanenſe, ſeu Foſſœnovæ, an. 1185, adepti ſunt Saloniciam cum multis civitatibus et caſtellis et roccis Romanix.’ It is likewiſe to be noticed, that our author calls this town Maffeille, and not Marfeilles, from the latin name Maſſilia.

(L) *The port hole of the veſſel.* I quoted this expreſſion in my obſervations on the hiſtory of Geoffry de Villehardouin, n. 14. to prove that veſſels having doors and openings were from thence called *huiſſieres*, *uſariæ*, *uſeriæ*, and *wiſſeriæ*, in ſome latin authors; which words have exerciſed the ingenuity of the learned, and particularly Freher, who had perſuaded himſelf they were a corruption of the word *luſoriæ*, which is the name given to certain veſſels on the Danube. Philippes de Mezieres, in his life of St Peter Thomas, patriarch of Conſtantinople, ch. 15. n. 87. calls them elegantly ‘*Huiſſeria: videlicet 60 navigia inter galeas, et alia navigia militum armatorum:*’ and in n. 91. ‘*inter galeas, huiſſeria, ligna, naves, et alia navigia.*’

Theſe veſſels are called *uſſerii* in the treaty between the Venetians and the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, ‘apud Raynald. in annal. eccl. an. 1334. n. 8.’—*Viſers*, in Roger de Hoveden and Brompton, in the year 1190.—*Uſcieri*, in John Villani, chap. 49. l. 8. ch. 92. l. 9. ch. 107. l. 10.—*Uſiheri*, in Juſtinian’s hiſtory of Genoa in the year 1293. William archbiſhop of Tyre, book 28. ch. 14. ſpeaks of theſe *huis*, and theſe doors of the Palandries, or veſſels to tranſport horſes, in the following terms, which greatly ſtrengthens what I have advanced as the origin of the word, ‘*Erant ſane in præfato exercitu naves longæ roſtratae geminis remorum inſtructæ ordinibus, bellicis uſibus habiliores, quæ vulgo Galeæ dicuntur, 150. In his majores ad deportandos equos deputatæ, oſta habentes in puppibus ad inducendos, educendos que eos patientia, pontibus etiam, quibus ad ingreſſum et exitum tam hominum quam equorum procurabatur commoditas,*

communitæ 60.' Which Hugh Plagon, the ancient interpreter of this author has thus translated, ' other vessels called Huiffiers, used to transport horses.'

Not only was the name of *huiffieres* given to such sort of vessels, but likewise to the false doors of halls or chambers, made to slide backward and forward. In the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king in the year 1350, is a charge, ' pour 10 fergettes vermeilles, pour mettre aux huiffieres et fenestragés de la chambre du roi.'

(LI) *In Cyprus.* Sanuto, l. 2. part 2. ch. 3. disapproves of the route St Louis took in stopping at Cyprus in his way to Egypt for two reasons. The first, because Egypt was a more wholesome climate, more abundant in water, fish and provision, and every other thing than Cyprus: it was therefore useless to stop there under pretext of refreshing the troops, and giving them time to recover the voyage. In the second place, it would have been more advantageous to have instantly attacked the enemy in Egypt before he had time to collect forces, which was the case during the stay at Cyprus, in which time considerable progress might have been made against the Saracens.

(LII) *Store of provision.* Matt. Paris writes, that when the king's army was in want of provision, the Venetians and the inhabitants of some other towns which he does not name brought succour. The emperor Frederick sent him also assistance, for which the king felt himself so much obliged that he wrote in his favour to the pope to obtain his absolution. Queen Blanche likewise thanked him by her letters, and sent him various presents, as an acknowledgement from France to him on this occasion, assuring him that the whole french army was indebted to him for its preservation.

The history of the archbishops of Bremen notices, in the year 1249, the succour our troops received from Frederick: ' Rex Franciæ cum pluribus sui regni militibus terram sanctum adiens, circa octavam Pentecostes obtinuit Damiatam, quem Fredericus imperator multis dicitur obsequiis adjuvisse.'

There are two letters from this emperor in the Trésor des Chartes, that shew the esteem he had for St Louis: he chose him for his arbitrator in his

difference with the pope, and left the matter to be finally determined by him and the peers of his realm. These letters mention the succour of provision sent to the holy land, and they are too honourable to our kings and to France not to be inserted in this place.

‘ Fredericus, D. G. Romanorum imperator semper Augustus, Jerusalem et Siciliae rex, universis praesentes litteras inspecturis per regnum Franciae constitutis dilectis sibi, salutem et omne bonum. Cum per aliquos retroactos Romanae sedis antistites, et praesentem, nos et alios reges, principes orbis, et nobiles, regna, principatus, honores quoslibet et jurisdictiones habentes, gravatos merito censeamus, ex eo quod ipsi contra Deum et justitiam posse, sibi jurisdictionem et auctoritatem usurpant instituendi et destituendi, seu removendi ab imperio, regnis, principatibus et honoribus suis, imperatores, reges et principes, seu quoscunque Magnates, temporalem auctoritatem in eos exercendo; absolvendo etiam a sacramentis, quibus dominis suis vassalli tenentur, contra dominos excommunicationis tantummodo sententia permulgata. Quodque quaestione, sive dissensione inter dominos et vassalos, seu inter duos nobiles et vicinos invicem contendentes, prout affolet, emergente, praedicti summi pontifices ad petitionem unius partis tantummodo partes suas interponunt, volendo ipsos invitos in se compromittere, vel aliter ad concordiam coercere, et alligando se fidelibus contra dominos, aut uni de partibus supra dictis, quod non prius pacem cum aliis faciant, quam alligatos sibi ponant in pace: recipiendo similiter promissionem de non faciendo pacem cum dominis a vassalis. Item ex eo quod praedicti summi pontifices in praerudicium jurisdictionis et honoris regnum et principum praedictorum, ad petitionem clericorum, seu laicorum, cognitiones causarum de rebus temporalibus, possessionibus feodalibus seu Burgesaticis, in ecclesiastico foro tractandas recipiunt et committunt. Ecce quod nos ad praedictam injuriam documentis evidentibus ostendendam, et ipsam a nobis, et eis, rationabiliter removendam, magistrum Petrum de Vineam magnae curiae nostrae Judicem, et G. de Ocre clericum, dilectos et fideles nostros ad Ludovicum illustrem regem Francorum Karissimum amicum nostrum providimus destinandos: affectuose rogantes, ac ob tuitionem et conservationem jurium nostrorum et imperii, regum aliorum et principum, seu quorumcumque nobilium efficaciter requirentes eundem, ut congregatis

coram se laicis paribus regni sui, aliisque nobilibus tanto negotio opportunis, per se cum eis super omnibus prædictis et singulis audiat jura nostra. Cæterum si ipsa prædicta non duxerit assumenda, cum nos qui auctore domino Romani imperii regnorem Jerusalem et Siciliae moderamur habenas, tam enormem injuriam, et tam informem usurpationem diebus nostris tolerare nolimus, regem eundem iusta precum intercessione rogamus, quatenus nobis causam nostram, suam, et aliorum principum viriliter prosequantibus, se contrarium non opponat: nec de suo regno aliquos laicos, seu clericos temporaliter nobis opponi permittat; nullumque præsentī summo pontifici, seu successoribus suis contra nos, discrimine præsentī durante, in regno, vel de regno suo præsidium, seu receptaculum tribuat, aut tribui patiatur. Porro si forsitan rex prædictus cum paribus, et nobilibus regni sui, prout tantum regem, et regnum condecet, partes suas interponendas viderit in prædictis, summumque pontificem, sive per justitiæ debitum, vel modo quolibet ad istud induxerit, ut velit prædicta gravamina nobis et aliis Christianis primatibus inrogata, et id specialiter, quod contra nos nuper in Lugdunensi concilio statuit, quatenus de facto processit, cum prorsus de jure non valeat, revocare.

‘ Nos ob honorem et reverentiam Dei et Redemptoris nostri, nec non ob amorem quem ad regem et regnum Franciæ præ cæteris singularem habemus, causam quæ inter nos, et summum pontificem vertitur supradictam, quatenus contingit eundem, in manibus ponimus reus ejusdem, perati omnia quæcumque per nos idem rex de consilio parium, nobiliumque suorum, visis et diligenter auditis nostris juribus, ecclesiæ viderit emendanda corrigere et in statum debitum integre reformare. Ac deinde pace per hoc inter nos et ecclesiam procedente, et reliquiis Longobardorum prout tenentur et debent, vel ad mandatum nostrum, et imperii redeuntibus, vel prorsus ab ecclesiæ defensione seclusis, promptos nos offerimus et paratos, vel prædicto rege ad defensionem Christianitatis, et statum pacificum conservandum in cismarinis partibus remanente, vel una cum eo, si hoc melius viderit elegendum, ad transmarinas partes per nos, aut Conradum carissimum filium nostrum Romanorum in regem electum, et regni Hierosolymitani hæredem omine prospero transfretare.

‘ Ad hos nos obligantes specialiter et expressim, quod vel cum rege Franciæ, sive sine eo terram totam Jerosolymitanam, et quidquid unquam a diebus antiquis regno Jerosolymitano pertinuit, ad proprietatem et ditionem regni ipsius, et Christianitatis cultum, nostris imperii, et regnorum nostrorum viribus, laboribus, et sumptibus, curabimus revocare. Nihilominus tamen, si forte, quod absit, discrimen præsentis discordiæ inter nos, ecclesiam et Lombardos durare contigerit, prædicto regi, ac omnibus signatis cruce cum eo, quatenus præsentium negotiorum et temporum qualitas patitur et tempestas, præsidia nostra terra marique tam in navibus, quam victualibus, promptis affectibus offerimus per præsentem. Superque omnibus et singulis supradictis quæ præsentium series continet litterarum, auctoritatem et mandatum plenum prædictis magistro Petro de Vineia, et G. de Odra duximus conferendum: ratum habentes et firmum quidquid per eosdem in iis pro parte nostri Culminis extiterit ordinatum.

‘ Datum Cremonæ xxii Septembri quartæ indictionis (1246).’

This letter was sealed with a golden seal hanging to a silken chain of purple colour having on one side the impression of the emperor seated with a patriarchal staff in one hand, and in the other a globe crossed, with the usual inscription,

‘ Frideric. Gra. Romanoru. impator. et Sep. August. Rex Siciliæ.’

On the reverse was the city of Rome and the ordinary inscription,

‘ Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi.’

‘ Fredericus D. G. Romanorum imperator semper August. Hierusalem et Siciliæ rex, justiciariis, magistris camerariis, magistris procuratoribus, et universis per regnum Siciliæ constitutis fidelibus suis, gratiam et bonam voluntatem. Cum Ludovicus illustris rex Francorum dilectus amicus noster, quem sinceri amoris integritate complectimur ad illius honorem qui regibus dat salutem, pro terræ sanctæ subsidio, signo mirificæ crucis assumpto, disponat ad partes ultramarinas in festo B. Joannis proxime futuræ VI. indictionis laudabiliter transfretare: volentes eidem felicem utinam transitum et suorum regni nostri fertilitate fulciri fidelitate vestræ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus cum in eo rem nostram et Conradi Romanorum in regem electi, et regni Hierosolymitani hæredis, carissimi

filiis nostris, quasi agere videamus, equos, arma, victualia et necessaria quaelibet, tam pro rege prædicto, quam pro iis qui de suo sunt hospitio, vel familia, per regnum nostrum emi sine molestia ad commune pretium, quod ipsi emptionis tempore generaliter distrahetur in regno, et a kalendis proximo futuri mensis Martii prædictæ vi. indiçtionis inantea usque per totum tempus quo prædictus rex in ultra marinis partibus pro Christi servitio moram trahet, emi et extrahi de regno libere ac illac deferri, tam per terram, quam aquam per eodem negotio sine et empidemento quolibet permittatis. Dat. Luteciæ anno Dominicæ Incarn. MCCXLVI. mense Novembri v. indic.'

Sealed on a chain of scarlet silk, with a small golden seal of the emperor Frederick, having on one side his figure, seated with the usual inscription,

'Frideric Di. Gra. Romanor. Imperator sep. august. rex Siciliae et Ierlem.'

On the reverse, the topography of Naples and Sicily, with this inscription:

'Regnum Sicil. Ducat. Apulie 7. Principat Capue v.'

See Matt. of Westminster, pp. 341, 342.

(LIII) *During the time of the king's residence.* William Guiart, Matt. Paris, Nangis, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 89. The bishop of Tusculum, in his letter to pope Innocent VI. to. 7. Spicileg. pp. 214. 224. all remark, that many great barons died at Cyprus during the time the king remained there.

(LIV) *The great king of Tartary.* This king was not the great cham of Tartary, but a king or prince over his subjects, whose name was Ercatay, as we learn from G. de Nangis, and from the letter of this same prince which is inserted by Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 90, 91, and 93. and in the additions to Matt. Paris, p. 116. He is called Erchalchai in the letter of the bishop of Tusculum, to. 7. Spicileg. p. 216.

(LV) *And sent his people.* See likewise the same Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 94.

(LVI) *The sultan of Conie.* This sultan of Iconium, a town in Cilicia, or Caramania, which the Turks at this day call Coni, according to Leunclavius in Pand. Turc. n. 12. 77. 180. had the name of Azatines, and was a Christian, as Nicephorus Gregoras. l. 4. and Phranzes, l. 1. ch. 24. assure us.

There is a letter from him to pope Gregory IX. who wanted to persuade him to embrace the Christian religion, in the ecclesiastical annals of Odoricus Raynaldus in the year 1235, n. 37. in which he is called Alatinus. He therein assumes the following titles: ‘Magnus foldanus Iconii, et Potestas omnium terrarum per orientem et septentrionalem plagam existentium, et magnæ Cappadociæ.’

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 143 and 144. relates at length the power of this prince, and the riches of his treasury. With regard to the term Sultan, which is often used in this history, there is matter sufficient to compose a whole dissertation, and which shall form the sixteenth.

(LVII) *Had melted a part of his gold.* Vincent de Beauvais says, in l. 31. ch. 144. ‘Est autem in ejus regno fortissimum castrum, quod candelaria dicitur, ubi est Thesaurus ipsius, et dicitur quod ibi sunt 16. pithariæ plenæ auro depurato, in ipsis liquato, exceptis lapidibus pretiosis, et pecunia multa nimis.’

(LVIII) *This king of Armenia.* Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 43. and 44. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13. ch. 6. relate likewise that Haiton, king of Armenia fought an alliance with the Tartars, to shelter himself from the continual inroads of the Turks.

(LIX) *The sultan of Babylon.* According to the Arabian Chronicle given to the public by Abraham Echellenfis, his name was Saleh Nagem-addim Aiiub, and he was son to the king Alcamel Mahomet, whom Vincent de Beauvais, in l. 32. ch. 100 & 101. calls Soldanus Kiemel, and whom I believe to be the Chemel that William of Tyre mentions in l. 9. ch. 21. and the Melec Equemel of Sanuto, l. 3. ch. 12. p. 11. in an epistle which this sultan wrote to pope Innocent IV. which is preserved by Odoricus

Raynaldus in his annals of the year 1246. n. 52. He styles himself Saleh Belfet, Aiob Soldani Regis Hadel Robere filii Aiob. His name and titles are likewise to be seen in Matt. Paris, p. 477.

(LX) *The fultan of Hamault.* It should be of *Haman*. This fultan was lord of Aleppo, as we learn from the monk Aython, ch. 38 & 39. and from Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 89 & 95. wherein he relates also the difference between the two fultans. The legate does the same in his epistle to Innocent IV. to. 7. Spicileg. p. 223. He possessed, among other towns, Aleppo, called by the ancients Chalybon (for thus it must be read in Foucher de Chartres, l. 3. ch. 31. and not Calypton, as it is there printed), Camela and Haman. Thence it happens that he is indiscriminately titled by the lord de Joinville, and other writers, fultan of Halape and of la Chamelle.

According to Aython, ch. 29. his name was Melec Nazer. With regard to the town of Haman, there is frequent mention made of it by the writers of the history of the holy wars:

Gautier. de bellis Antioch. p. 444.

William of Tyre, l. 5. ch. 1. l. 7. ch. 12. l. 21. ch. 6. 8.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 92.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 144.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 6. ch. 22. part 9. ch. 3. part 11. ch. 15. part 13. ch. 7 & 8.

Aython, ch. 15. 36 & 59.

I have said something of la Chamelle in my historical treatise on the head of St John the Baptist.

(LXI) *Chefs.* This game has been always very much in vogue among the Turks and Saracens, as we learn from Elemacin, l. 2. ch. 7. from Aython, ch. 53. and from Ducas, in his history, ch. 16. The game has even taken its name from a turkish or arabic word Scach, which signifies king, because the principal piece of chefs is the king, as is noticed in the Pandect of Leunclavius, n. 1. 102. 179.

The Greeks of the middle ages, and those of the present day, call it *Ζαττικιον*, as Saumaïse, in his observations on Pliny, and Meursius in his glossary, have observed. Anna Comnena, in the 22d book of her *Alexiade* makes use of this word, and remarks, that it was invented by the Assyrians. See the chronicle of Hainault by Jacques de Guyse, vol. 1. pp. 53 & 54. and M. Menage in his glossary of the french language.

Lucanus in paneg. ad Pisonem has elegantly described the game of chess, and after him Hieronymus Vidas.

(LXII) *The point of Lymeffon.* This promontory is so called from the town of Lymeffon, which is situated in that part of the island. It is also called *Lemise*, *Limone* or *Nemofie*, and by the ancients Neapolis.

See Stephen de Lefignan's history of Cyprus, ch. 7. pp. 19, 20.

(LXIII) *The prince of the Morea.* William de Villehardouin, prince of Achaia and of the Morea, seneschal of Romania.

William de Guiart sings,

‘ Lors vint pour ce que eus passast,
O mainte armeure dorée,
Cil qui prince iert de la Morée.’

See Nangis' life of St Louis, p. 353. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. Acropolita, ch. 48. and what I have said of this prince in the genealogy of that family, and in the history of the empire of Constantinople under the french emperors.

(LXIV) *The duke of Burgundy.* The duke of Burgundy had passed the winter in the Morea, according to Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. and, as I presume, then returned to Constantinople, which he undertook in consequence of a promise he had made the emperor Baldwin so long ago as the year 1238, to succour him in case of need, as we read in Albericus.

(LXV) *Naccaires.* The Italians call them *naccara* and *gnacara*. Philippo Venuto says, that it is a ‘ Stromento musico, col quale i fanciulli cantano il fan Martino.’ Pietro de la Valle, in his travels, ep. 6. says, that a sort of

drum is called by this name which is used by the german cavalry, and which we commonly call *tymbals*. Jean d'Oronville, in his history of Louis duke of Bourbon, chap. 76. attributes in like manner the naccaires to the Saracens of Africa. 'The king of Tunis, the king of Tremecen, and the king of Bugia, came before the town of Africa with their array, and, according to custom, attended by their naccaires, drums, cymbals, flutes and shoutings.'

The author of the life of Louis VII. ch. 8. gives the invention of them to the Turks, 'Tympanis et nacariis et aliis similibus instrumentis resonabant;' by an error of the press it is, in the printed copy, *macariis*. The edition of Poitiers has likewise the word *macaires*, p. 31. Our Frenchmen afterwards borrowed this instrument from the infidels, and made use of it in their wars. In the rhyming chronicle of Bertrand de Guesclin is,

'Naquaires et buifines y pouvoit on oir.'

Sanuto, l. 2. part. 4. ch. 20, 21. 'Sint quatuor tubatores, tibicines, tibiatores, et qui sciant pulfare nacharas, tympana seu tamburla.'

A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'A list of the household of monsieur de Poitiers. The minstrels of my lord of Poitiers. Raoulin de St Verin, menestrel du Cor Sarazinois. Andrieu et Bernart Trompeurs, Paris et de Nacaires, Bernart de la Tempeste.'

William Guiart calls these instruments *anacaires* in the year 1214.

'Tabours, trompes, et anacaires,
En tant de lieu ça et là sonnent,
Que toute le contrée estonnent.'

And further on,

'Lors oiffiés tentir buifines,
A grant paine et a labours,
Cors, anacaires et tabours.'

The modern Greeks use the word *ανακαρα*, from which they have formed *ανακαρισαι*, players on the nacaire, which Nicetas, in his life of Manuel, l. 5. in that of Ifac. l. 1. and Codin, make use of.

In the MS. romance of Belifarius, written in the vulgar Greek, *παιζομεν τρουμπητες, οργανα, τουπανια ανακαραδες*. The old latin and french dictionary, published by father Labe, translates the word *tinçtitare* to play on the

nacaires, whereas *tingitare* is to tingle. Besides, *tarantarizare*, *tromper* and *nagairer*, is to play on the nacaires.

(LXVI) *John of Belmont*. This lord is styled chamberlain to the king in a deed of the year 1235, and is the same whom the king, St Louis, sent in 1239 against the Albigenes, according to G. Nangis. The edition of Poitiers misnames him *de Briemont*.

(LXVII) *Airart de Brienne*. This Airard was the son of Airard de Brienne, lord of Rameru, by Philippa of Champagne, of whom mention has already been made. See the ‘*Lignage d’Outremer*,’ and the genealogy of this family in the general history of France by Messieurs de Sainte Marthe, l. 10. ch. 16. of the third edition.

(LXVIII) *Madame de Baruth*. Eschive de Montbeliard, daughter of Walter de Montbeliard and de Bourgogne de Cypre. See Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 16. and the ‘*Lignage d’Outremer*,’ until I shall more amply speak of them in my history of the families of the east.

(LXIX) *And was drowned*. After these words the Poitiers edition adds, ‘And I must relate a marvellous event which happened in my little boat. I had taken with me two valiant knights-bachelor, whose names were Villains de Vergy and William de Dammartin. They bore so great a hatred to each other, that it could not be exceeded, insomuch that they had several times fought, and there was no way of appeasing their rage. But when my boat was on the point of leaving the ship for land, on a sudden these two bachelors, without saying one word, ran and embraced each other, weeping through affection, and mutually asking pardon for their offences. I mention this to shew, that the danger of death extinguishes all hatred and rancour.’

(LXX) *The standard of St Denis*. That is to say, the vessel which bore the standard of St Denis, for, further on, ‘the galley arrived with the standard of St Denis;’ and directly afterward, ‘when the good king Saint

Louis knew that the standard of St Denis was landed.' Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. 'Præcedente quoque in aliis vafellis juxta ipfos B. Dionysii martyris vexillo.' This standard of St Denis was no other than the oriflamme, which will furnish the subject of the eighteenth dissertation.

(LXXI) *The count de Japhe.* This count was the person who had succeeded count Walter de Brienne, made prisoner by the sultan of Persia, about the year 1244. His name was John d'Ibelin, and he was lord of Baruth, by descent from his father, Balian d'Ibelin. His mother was Eschive de Montbeliard, by reason of which alliance John d'Ibelin was a cousin, once removed, from Germain-de Richard, count de Montbeliard, son of Peter. I believe we must thus understand the lord de Joinville, when he says the count de Japhe was cousin-german to the count de Montbeliard.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 5 & 8, gives him the title of count de Japhe in the year 1266. The book of the Assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem says, that it was he who reduced to writing the laws and statutes of that kingdom. The 'Lignage d'Outremer,' gives him also the title of lord of Baruth.

With regard to what the lord de Joinville says of the count de Japhe being of the lineage of Joinville, it must be understood to be so through the female line; for the arms he gives him shew clearly that he was not of the house of Joinville.

(LXXII) *Drums.* The saracenic horn is mentioned in the extract I have made from the roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris. The manuscript chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin mentions it likewise:

'Trompes et chalemelles et cors sarazinois.'

I have already amply spoken of nacaires: it remains only that I say a few words respecting drums, the use of which we have also borrowed from the Saracens. The lord de Joinville shews us, that in his time they were called Tabours, which is confirmed by the romance of Garin:

'Les tabours sonnent por les chevaux lefdir.'

And by William Guiart in the year 1202:

'Ne mena trompes ne tabours.'

Jacques Millet, in his destruction of Troy,

‘ Faîtes ces trompettes sonner,
Tabours, menestriers, et clarons.’

Sanuto, l. 2. part 4. ch. 21. uses the word *tamburtum*. The Spaniards call them *altambors*. Bonaventura Pistofilo, 1. part. della Oplomachia supposes these words to have been formed from the Greek *Ταμῦς*, these instruments having been invented to astonish and strike dismay: but it is certain that the word, as well as the use of drums, have originated with the Saracens and Arabians.

Lucas Tudenfis, speaking of the death of Almanzor, chief of the Saracens in Spain, ‘ die qua in Canatanazor succubuit, quidam quasi piscator, quasi plangens, modo Chaldaico sermone, modo Hispanico, clamabat, dicens, en Canatanazor perdio Almanzor el tambor, id est, in Canatanazor perdidit Almanzor tympanum, sive fistrum, hoc est lætitiæ suam.’

Roderick archbishop of Toledo, in his history of the Arabians, ch. 37. likewise attributes to the Saracens the invention of drums: ‘ et continuo atamoribus (lege Altamoribus) propulsatis, civium multitudinem convocavit.’

Joannes Cameniata also, in his description of the taking the town of Thessalonica by the Saracens of Africa in the year 904. οἱ δὲ το ταχος λεχεισι τοποις ταις ναυσι διαπαρεντες, βοη τε χρησαμδυοι βαρβαεικη και τραχεια εωρμισαν τω τειχει, ταις κωπαις ελαυνοντες, και τοις εκ των δερρεων κατασκευασμενοις τυμπανοις; when these ‘ tympana ex coria facta,’ are nothing else than the drums which the emperor Leon in his Tactics, ch. 18. paragraph 113 & 114. attributes in like manner to the Turks.

To this may be added the description of this instrument by S. Isidore, lib. 2. Orig. C. 21. ‘ Tympanum est pellis, vel corium ligno ex una parte extensum.’ This may also refer to Tymbals, which are semi-circular copper vessels covered at the top by stretched leather. Our drums are formed of a deep hollow circle of wood closed at each end by stretched parchment or vellum.

(LXXIII) *The legate.* Odo, bishop of Tusculum, who has written an account of part of this expedition in the seventh volume of the Spicileg. of

the reverend father D. Luc d'Achery, p. 213. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 79. 91. and Oderic. Raynald. anno 1248. n. 29.

(LXXIV) *His lance on his wrist.* Froissart, vol. 1. ch. 12. and the chronicle of Flanders, pp. 55, 99, &c. mention this usage.

(LXXV) *Their sultan was dead.* The oriental chronicle says, that the sultan of Babylon was not deceased when St Louis took Damietta, but that he died the day the king left it, to encamp before Maffoura, which was the 25th of November. This agrees with what the king wrote himself in his letter of the capture of this town: 'Intelleximus autem in ipso itinere foldanum Babylonie de novo vitam miseram finivisse,' &c. Vincent de Beauvais says the same thing in l. 32. ch. 98.

(LXXVI) *The Souldé.* According to the lord de Joinville, the Souldé was a row of tradesmen's shops; but it is an error, and *la Souldé* must be changed for *la Fonde*, as it is printed in the edition of Bordeaux.

In the treaty concluded by the patriarch Guermond, and the barons of Jerusalem, with Dominico Michiel, doge of Venice, relative to the undertaking the siege of the city of Tyre in the year 1123, as reported by William, archbishop of Tyre, in his history, l. 12. ch. 25. 'Ipse rex Hierusalem et nos omnes Duci venetorum de funda Tyri ex parte regis festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli trecentos in unoquoque anno Byzantios Saracenatos ex debiti conditione persolvere debemus.' Now the words, *funda Tyri* mean nothing else than the revenue afforded by commerce, and taken from the common purse of the merchants, for *funda* signifies a purse, in Macrobius, l. 2. Saturnal. c. 4. In St Bonaventura, in his life of Saint François, ch. 7. and in some greek authors, quoted by Meursius in his glossary, v. *φουνδα*. This may be the cause that, in some of the towns of Germany, the low countries, and in England, the public places for the meetings of merchants have retained the name of Bourle, or purse, on account of its being the common purse of the companies of merchants. This is the etymology which John Baptist Grammay gives, after some others, of these places, in his description of Antwerp, chap. 12.

(LXXVII) *Delivered to us Damietta.* The Oriental Chronicle says, it was after two days siege. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 99. adds, that it surrendered on the feast of Trinity Sunday. William of Tyre, l. 20. ch. 16. has thus described the city of Damietta.

‘Est autem Damietta inter Egypti metropoles, antiqua et nobilis plurimum, fecus ripam Nili sita, ubi secundo ostio prædictus fluvius mare ingreditur, inter fluminis alveum et mare, situ valde commodo posita, a mari tamen quasi milliaro distans.’—Cinnamus, p. 304, calls it *Ταμιαδι*.

(LXXVIII) *King John.* Jacques de Vitry, in l. 3. p. 1140, has amply treated of this first capture of Damietta by John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, in the month of November 1219, and in the letter he wrote on this subject, p. 1146. In Gest. Dei per Francos. Oliverius Scholaasticus in the same volume. The Oriental Chronicle, p. 102. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 87, 88. Sanuto, l. 2. part. 2. ch. 9. l. 3. part. 11. ch. 7, 8. and in other historians.

(LXXIX) *A patriarch then present.* It was the patriarch of Jerusalem, of whom mention is made hereafter, and who, according to the account of the lord de Joinville, was eighty years old at the time of this expedition. His name was Guy, and he was a native of la Puglia. Pope Gregory IX. promoted him to the bishoprick of Nantes in Brittany after the death of the patriarch Girold. Albericus in the year 1236. ‘Guido Apuliæ unus episcopus ab imperatore quondam pulsus, factus est a papa Nannetensis episcopus.’ And in the year 1241, ‘Guido Nannetensis in Britannia fuit patriarcha Hierosolymitanus.’ The MS. has a false reading of Constantinopolitanus.

The epistle of pope Gregory, mentioning his promotion to this dignity, may be found in the annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, anno 1240. n. 47.

(LXXX) *John de Valery.* John lord of Valery in Champagne, son to Huon lord of Valery and of Ode, appears in the cartulary of Champagne in the chamber of accounts in Paris, in a deed of the year 1218. In another of the year 1230, he is styled brother to Hugh de Valery knight. He is also spoken of in the years 1240 and 1261, in the history of the house of

Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 6. l. 11. ch. 8. l. 12. ch. 17. and likewise in a deed of the year 1266, in the same cartulary.

He married Clementia, lady of Fonvens, at the time widow of William de Vergy, lord of Mirebeau, according to Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Vergy, l. 4. ch. 1.

A deed of the year 1264, in the cartulary of Cluny, in the library of M. de Thou, makes him father to Erard de Valery, chamberlain of France and constable of Champagne, who on his arrival in the kingdom of Naples on his return from the holy land, united his forces with those of Charles duke of Anjou. William de Nangis, in his life of St Louis, pp. 379, 382. relates, that he there behaved with the utmost valour. William Guiart mentions him advantageously, and Brunetto Latini, in the 13th book of his *Tesoro*, speaks of his excellent qualities in these terms: 'He had at that time near his person two knights, who were thought to be the best in the world, the lord Erard de Valery and the lord John Bridaut,' &c.

The lord de Joinville makes mention of this Erard.

(LXXXI) *Bordeaux*. The word *Bordel*, which signifies a place of infamy, *lupanar*, takes its origin from loose women and suchlike characters inhabiting small houses, which in the old french language were called *bordels*, from the diminutive of *borde* a house, and is probably borrowed from *bord* of the english sailors, with whom this word has the same meaning.

A title-deed of Edgar king of England, in the *Monast. Anglic.* to l. p. 37. 'videlicet 5 mansas, cum 15 carucis terræ, cum 18 servis, et 16 villanis, et 10 bordis, cum 60 acris prati,' &c.

A deed of Pons de Montlor of the year 1219, in the register of Carcassonne in the chamber of accounts in Paris, f. 39. 'Et ibidem scilicet in strata fiet borda communis ad levandum pedagium.'

In the romance of Garin,

'N'i a meson, ne borde, ne mesnil.'

See likewise Spelman's glossary. From the word *borde* comes *bordel*, to mark a small house. In the above romance,

'N'i ot bordel, qui tant parfu petis,
Mien escient chevalier n'i gesit.'

And in the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,
 ‘ Et bonne ville auffi garnie bien et bel,
 C’on nommoit S. Maiffens, dehors ot maint bordel.’

William de Jumieges, l. 7. ch. 14. ‘ Domunculam circumdedit cum familia: Sorengus vero expergefactus de bordello exiit, et fugiens in vinarium exire voluit.’

And again in the *Monasticum Anglic.* to. 2. p. 206. ‘ et ortum ante portam atrii cum bordello.’

See also the ‘ Coutume de Sole,’ tit. 12. art. 2. There are some who conceive that the word *bort*, which the Gascons formerly used to signify bastard, took its rise from the term Bordel, as born ‘ incerto patre,’ and in places of public resort.

Underneath is an extract from a deed communicated to me by M. d’Herouval, which justifies the use of this word in the signification alluded to. ‘ De par le roi. Nôtre chancelier, nos gens de nos comptes, et nôtre audiençier. Nous avons quitte de grace espeeiale au Bort de Rabastens tout nôtre droit tant de finances, que de chancellerie, et du feel de deux cartes en cire verte, l’une de legitimation et l’autre de nobilitation, &c.. Donné à l’Opital de Corbeil le 20. jour de Fevrier l’an 1351.’

(LXXXII) *Séans sur formes*,—That is to say, mounted on their war horses.

(LXXXIII) *Geoffry de Sargines*. He is called Gaufridus de Sarcinis, in an epistle of pope Urban IV. in the fifth vol. of the historians of France, p. 870. This letter informs us that he remained in the holy land after the departure of St. Louis, which is confirmed by the author of the assizes of Jerusalem, part. 2. ch. 20. A deed, in the *Tresor des Chartes*, executed at Acre in the year 1277, and another in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king’s library, fol. 78. qualify him as feneschal of that kingdom; and as this last contains some curious observations relative to our history, I do not think the inserting it in this place will be found improper.

‘ To the most high and potent, and well beloved lord, Thibaut, by the grace of God, the very noble king of Navarre, count palatine of

Champagne and Brie, William, by the same grace, patriarch of Jerusalem, and apostolic legate, Thomas Berart, master of the poor knights templars, brother Hugh Revel, guardian of the poor of Christ, brother Ann, master of the hospital of the Germans, Jeoffroy de Sergines, seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, send health, increase of love in this age, and everlasting life to come.

‘ Sire, it is unnecessary for us to lay before you the poor and miserable state of Christianity in the kingdom of Jerusalem ; nor that the sultan, and other enemies of the Christian faith, take the utmost pains, day and night, to abase our religion ; nor that, in this month of May, they have destroyed the inhabitants, and laid waste the gardens and manors all over the plain of Acre, and that they have afterward retreated to the country of the Saphet, because we are assured that your highness has been well informed of these things by several others, and which, if you please, you may have confirmed, and hear the whole truth from the bearers of this letter, as they are personally well acquainted with every thing that has happened.

‘ You must know, sire, that the noble lord, sir Hugh count de Brienne, your man and vassal, as soon as he heard of the decease of his elder brother, John de Brienne, whose soul may God receive ! would have waited upon you, to perform all his duties, and had made preparations accordingly, if he had not been prevented by various hindrances, more especially by sickness, which has grievously tormented him, as it has been the will of the Lord. Afterward, by the death of his aunt, he was forced to a quarrel with his cousin, sir Hugh de Lusignan, bailiff of Jerusalem and Cyprus, on account of the administration of her fortune, which he had reason to expect. Afterwards, from the need there was of his service, he passed three years in Jerusalem, where, on every occasion, he exerted himself to the utmost of his powers for the honour and profit of Christendom. Know also, sire, that last April he went to Cyprus, but every thing turned out contrary to his continuing his journey to you ; for he there learnt that the sultan of Syria intended an invasion, and he is not one of those who fear shedding their blood for the defence of that land whereon the son of God condescended to shed his for the redemption of sinners from the pains of hell. These things detained him from pursuing his journey to you, or returning to Acre, and

he remained there until the sultan had retreated to the country of the Saphet.

‘ By our advice and permission, in which we are joined by all the discreet men of the country, he now sets out to wait on you, and because he is fearful that your highness may take it ill that he has not sooner waited on you to receive the investiture of his inheritance, to whom, as to his lord, he owes it, we most humbly entreat you, through your love to God, and to us, that your highness would favourably incline to his pretensions, and that you would expedite his business, in order that he may return to the service of our lord, which he is very desirous to do, and which all we that are in the holy land are most anxious he should do, as his presence will be of the greatest advantage to the country, which will be comforted and assisted by it. Written at Acre the 27th day of May.’

This lord is miscalled Galfridus de Seignes, in the seventh volume of the *Spicileg.* p. 223. In an account of the bailiffs of France, to Ascension-day in the year 1289, there is mention made of Pierre de Sargines, sent that year as ambassador from the king of France to the king of Castille, the same who was judge of the ‘ Plaits de la Porte’ in the year 1285, and is named among the king’s knights, that is to say, those of his household, in an account roll of the household in the year 1287..

He died in the year 1297, leaving issue, as may be collected ‘ d’un compte du trésor du roi,’ wherein Heluis is mentioned as daughter and heiress to Geoffry de Sargines knight, in the year 1298. In the ‘ trésor des chartes du roi,’ Laiette, Comptes de Champagne, 1. tit. 63. mention is also made of Isabeau de Broyes, lady of Sargines, wife of Geoffry de Sargines knight, parents to John and Geoffry de Sargines. I have seen the original of another deed of Gilles de Sargines knight, chamberlain to the king of the year 1314, who bore for arms on his seal ‘ une fasce; avec une autre vivrée en chef.’

This lord was created a knight at the feast which the king held at Paris at Whitsuntide in the year 1313, as I learn from an account in the *Trésor des Chartes*. Among the gens d’armes that were mustered under John lord de Trainel, in the bailiwick of Sens in the year 1348, there appear Geoffry

de Sargines knight, and Droin de Sargines esquire. See Fauchet on the ancient french poets, l. 2. ch. 83.

(LXXXIV) *Mahom de Marby*. The edition of Poitiers has the same reading, but we must restore it to Mahieu de Marly, who was a nobleman descended from a branch of the Montmorenci family.

See the history of this house by Andrew du Chefne, l. 11. ch. 5. p. 672.

(LXXXV) *Philippe de Nantuel*. This may be the person who was of the expedition and at the conquest of Naples. William Guiart,

‘ Avec lui a celle venuë,
Furent de Bauçoy Guy et Huë,
Nanteuil, de Montaigu Guillaume.’

(LXXXVI) *The master of the cross-bows*. Thiebaud de Montleart had this appointment under St Louis, by whom he is named among the great lords of the realm in an arrêt of the year 1270, in du Tillet.

(LXXXVII) *Gaultier d'Entrache*. Gautier d'Autréche, son of Guy de Nanteuil, lord of Autréche and châtelain de Bar. See the history of the family of Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 10. The edition of Poitiers reads *Antrache*.

(LXXXVIII) *His coverlid of minever*. In those days, the coverlids of beds usually consisted of skins of value; whence ancient writers have included them among the richest furniture. In the romance of Garin,

‘ Les palefrois, les muls et le roncins,
Coutes de foie, et couverts hermins,
Tot departi as chevaliers de pris,
Qu'il n'en retint vaillant un parisis.’

In the last will of Jane, queen of France and Navarre, in the year 1304, sheets, coverlids and counterpanes, are named among the furniture of value; but our old writers particularly speak of those rich coverlids of exquisite skins when on the subject of the ceremonies used in times of peace on the creation

of knights: for after they had been bathed, they were laid in a rich state-bed under the finest coverlids, and were there visited by their friends.

The author of the 'Ordene de Chevalerie,' after telling us how Saladin was put into the bath by Huës de Tabarie, before he gave him the order of knighthood, adds, 'that he led him to his new bed, and, having lain him therein, said to him, 'Sire, this bed gives you to the great city of Paradise, which you must conquer by your chivalry;' and when he had reposed himself, he made him rise, and clothed him with a white robe of fine linen or silk.' The same romance is in verse:

'Après si l'a du baing osté,
Si le coucha en un bel lit,
Qui estoit fait par grant delit,
Sire, fait il, che segnesie,
L'on doit par sa chevalerie
Conquerre lit en paradis
Ke Diex otroie à ses amis:
Car chou est li lis de repos
Qui la ne fera, moût i ert fos.'

The same ceremonies are observed in creating Knights of the Bath, according to the customs of England, related by Edward Bisse, in his notes on Nicholas Upton, page 21. 'This done, the squires-directors take the noviciate out of the bath, and put him to bed, until he be dry; and this bed must be plain, and without curtains.'

During this ceremony, those who were to be created knights made their appearance first as esquires, then as knights, after having received the order. In the first part of the ceremony, the coverlids were not so rich nor of such fine skins, as in the second, for knights alone were permitted to use coverlids of vair or ermine.

This is apparent from an account of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king in the year 1351. 'For four hundred ells of fine black cloth in several pieces, to make coverlids for each of the new knights half lined with the backs of squirrel skins of Calabria to cover their beds during their state

of esquireship, eighty-three crowns. For two full-length pieces of vermilion marbled cloth of Bruffels, to make each of the said knights coverlids half furred with minever, which they require for the state of knighthood.'

Even among the liveries which our kings gave to the princes of the blood, and to the officers of their household, were these rich coverlids. A roll in the chamber of accounts in Paris entitled, 'Pro rebus datis militibus D. Philippi et gentibus cameræ suæ, pro rebus dominorum Joann. et Petri et Roberti, filiorum regis pro scallatis radiat. et tiretan: Persia et viridi pro coopertorio, 88 lib. pro foraturis dictarum robarum, &c. et pro duabus culcitris punctis pro dictis Petro et Joanne, &c. D. Robertus Atrebat. pro roba de Samito, roba de panno aureo foratis de erminis, et 4. pannis ad aur. ad unum coopertorium foratum de erminis, quod factum fuit pro D. Hemondo, et una culcitra puncta cum fundo panni aurei, quæ fuit facta pro filio regis Arragoniæ.'

Among the Romans, bed coverlids were also of the richest stuffs, as father Sirmond has noticed in his observations on Sidonius, l. 1. Epist. 2.

(LXXXIX) *The sultan paid for each head.* The Turks to this day follow the same custom as our countrymen witnessed when they signalized their valour in the last wars between the emperor of Germany and the grand signor. See Gaufrid. Malaterra, l. 2. ch. 46.

(xc) *The watch, or sentinel.* In the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,
 'Y avoit une gaite toute jour à journée,
 Qui sonnoit un bacin, quant la pierre est levée.'

These verses inform us, that he who acted as sentinel on the watch-towers, and rang the alarm bell in cases of dangers, was thence called Bachinator, in some of the ordinances of king Edward, relative to the office of seneschal of Gascony. 'In reg. constabul. Burdegal. fol. 80. Item ordinatum est quod sit unus Bachinator ad supervidenda omnia castra, et fortalitia regis in toto ducatu.' Au compte de l'hostel du roi, de l'an 1311. 'Guata Luperæ, Gueta Casteletti, Guetta parvi Pontis.'

(xcI) *Corcenay*. The edition of Poitiers reads *Courcenay*, a well known noble family in Champagne.

(xcII) *The count de Poitiers*. Vincent de Beauvais says, in book 32. and chapters 89 & 98, that Alphonso, count of Poitiers, remained in France to assist queen Blanche, mother to the king, in the government of the kingdom during his absence; and that about St John's day in the year 1249 he set off with a numerous army, and, embarking at Aigues Mortes, on the morrow of the feast of St Bartholomew, he arrived at Damietta the Sunday preceding the feast of St Simeon and St Jude. Nangis says the same thing.

(xcIII) *In the mosque*. In like manner, at the first capture of Damietta, this temple had been changed by the legate into a church, under the invocation of our Lady, as we learn from Jacques de Vitry, in the third book of his history, where he gives the dimensions of it as follows :

‘ Mahomeria Damiatæ per invocationem S. Trinitatis immutata est in ecclesiam. B. Virginis, in quadrum posita, tanta fere ejus latitudo quanta longitudo ejus consideratur : columnis sustentatur marmoreis 150. minus una, 7. porticus habens, et in medio habens aperturam longam et latam, in qua pyramis alta sursum ascendit,’ &c. p. 1143.

William Guiart, in 1248, relates how St Louis, or rather the legate, again dedicated it under the name of our Lady. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 98, and the additions to Matt. Paris, p. 109, &c.

(xcIV) *At the beginning of Advent*. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 9. and William de Nangis, say it was the 20th of November.

(xcv) *Here it will be proper to speak of the river*. Many writers, as well ancient as modern, beside geographers, have amply spoken of the Nile, its sources, its mouths, and the virtue of its waters: among them, the author of a greek treatise, entitled *περι της Νειλου αναπληρωσεως διαφοροι δοξαι*, printed with some treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus by Henry Stephens;

Theophylactes Simocatta in the history of the empire; Maurice, l. 7. ch. 17. William of Tyre, l. 19. ch. 22; Sanuto, l. 3. part. 14. ch. 12; Aithon, ch. 17. Murtadi, the son of Gaphiphe in his wonders of Egypt; John Leon, book 9; Scaliger, ad l. 3. Manil. Quaresmius in elucidat. terræ sanctæ, l. 8. peregr. 1. c. 9. M. de la Chambre and Isaac Vossius, who have lately written particular treatises on this subject; and in short the other writers who are quoted by Davity in his history of Africa. The lord William de Lannoy, lord of Villerval, and knight of the golden fleece, has likewise touched a little on this matter in the MS. account of his travels.

(xcvi) *The river Reri.* All the historians who relate this passage call the river Thanis, which is the name of one of the branches of the Nile that flows by a place of the same name, and is called at this day *Tanes* or *Tencz*. It will therefore be necessary to correct our author, and make it Tanis instead of Tunis. The oriental chronicle calls the river, which the French then crossed, *Afmini*. William of Tyre, l. 22. c. 15. mentions the water of a river which he calls *Rafel rafit*. The Arabians and Turks at present call the town of Rosetta *Rafchit* or *Rafit*, whence this branch of the Nile takes its name. It is maintained, that this river of Rafit is that mouth of the Nile called by the ancients Canopus, and that of Tenez or Thanis was the Pelusiac mouth. See, in addition to the geographers, Quaresmius, l. 8. elucidat. terræ sanctæ Peregr. 6. cap. 2.

(xcvii) *Had made two beffrais.* The beffroy was a warlike machine in the form of a tower, made of wood, having different stories, which was drawn near to the walls of a town, and the stories filled with a proper number of soldiers, who shot from their bows and cross-bows over the walls, against the defenders of the place. These machines were usually moved on four wheels, and to prevent the greek fire from hurting them, they were covered with boiled horse or bullock skins. Froissart, in his first volume, chap. 108. thus describes the beffrois: 'The English had constructed two large towers, of great beams of wood, three stories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to shelter those

within from fire, and from the arrows: in each story were one hundred archers.'

The romance of Garin,

' La veiffiés ces perrieres venir,
Ces mangoniæx et geter, et flatir,
Et les berfrois as Chaftiax affaillir,
Et ces archers durement aatir.'

In the chronicle of Bertrand du Guefclin,

' Un grant beffroy de bois orent fait charpenter,
Et le firent adonques à Arques apporter,
Jufques près dès foffés ils le firent traifner,
Grande plenté de gent y pouvoit bien entrer.'

William le Breton, in the fecond book of his Philippiade, names this fort of machine *Belfragium*, and thus defcribes it:

' Cratibus et lignis rudibus Belfragia furgunt,
Turribus alta magis et mænibus, unde valerent
Agmina miffilibus, telifque quibuflibet uti,
Devexoſque hoſtes facili proſternere jactu.'

And again, in the 7th book,

' Parte alia turres, quibus eſt Belfragia nomen,
Roboribus crudis compaëtæ, atque arbora multa
Intaëtis dolabra ruditer, quibus aſcia ſolos
Abſciderat ramos, fic educantur, ut uſque
Aëra ſub medium longo volumine tendant
Ut doleat murus illis depreſſior eſſe.'

William of Malmesbury, in the 4th book of his hiſtory of England, calls this machine *Berfroy*: ' Alterum (machinamentum) fuit pro lignorum penuria turris non magna, in modum ædificiorum facta (Berfreid appellant) quod faſtigium murorum æquaret.' Simeon of Durham alſo, in the year 1123, ſays, ' Videns autem rex ſe non, ac diſpoſuerat, proficere, ligneam turrim, quam Berfreit vocant erexit.'

Odoricus Vitalis, l. 8. calls it *Berfredus*: ' Ingentem machinam, quam Berfredum vocitant, contra munitionem erexit.' And in the 12th book, ' Carpentarios Berfredum facientes docebat.'

Rolandin in his chronicle, l. 1. ch. 8. l. 4. ch. 2. l. 6. ch. 6. l. 12. ch. 6. calls it *bilfredus*; and the emperor Frederick I. in an epistle that is in William Heda in the year 1190, *verfredus*.

This sort of machine is often described by the writers of the middle ages, who, however, have suppressed the name, as in

Tubedod, l. 5. p. 805.

Albert d'Aix, l. 6. ch. 11. l. 7. ch. 3.

Guibert, in his hist. of Jerusalem, l. 6. ch. 18. l. 7. ch. 6.

William of Tyre, l. 8. ch. 12, 15, 18. l. 20. ch. 16.

Suger, in his life of Louis VII. ch. 10.

Robert. Monach. l. 7.

Radevicus, l. 2. De Gestis Frederici, c. 62.

Anna Comnena, p. 384.

Acropolita, p. 190.

Vegetius, l. 4. ch. 17, 18.

Gilles monk of Orval, in his life of Alberon II. bishop of Liege, ch. 35.

And lastly, Sanuto, l. 2. part 4. ch. 22. points out the mode of making them. The romance of Garin likewise describes this machine, without naming it :

‘ Un engin fet, de tel parler n’oi,
Qui ot de haut cent piés tos enterins,
Près de la porte fist venir tels engins,
A fet estages tot droit de fust chefnin,
Arbalestriers a mis jusqu’ a vint,
Bien fit cloés, couvert de cuir boli.’

This word *beffroy* (belfry) has since been applied to the highest towers of frontier towns, wherein a centinel is placed to watch for their security, and with a bell for him to strike on to alarm the inhabitants and guards at the gates. This bell has afterwards been employed to mark the hour for the retreat of the inhabitants to their houses, and the garrisons to their quarters, and other public uses, whence it is called ‘Campana bannalis,’ by Hoefemius, in his life of Hugh bishop of Liege, ch. 23.

‘ Statuta Gildæ Scot. c. 28. Nullus regratarius emat pisces, fœnum, avenas, ante pulsationem campanæ in berefrido.’ The chronicle of Flanders

frequently mentions the beffrois of towns. Hence it happens, that those towers, and the bells hung in them, make part of the privileges of the commonalty, as we learn from an ordinance of Charles the fair in the year 1322, by which he deprives the inhabitants of Laon for certain misdeeds of the right of common, of shreivalty, of mayoralty, of their seal, and of their bell, belfry and jurisdiction.

(xcviii) *Chas Chateilx*. The cat was properly a machine made in the form of a covered gallery, (whence Anna Comnena, in her *Alexiade*, page 383, gives it the name of *σαοα*) which was fastened to the walls to afford shelter to the sappers. William le Breton, in the seventh book of his *Philippiade*,

‘ Huc faciunt reptare catum, tectique sub illo
Suffodiunt murum.’

The Monk de Vaux de Sarnay, ch. 48. ‘ Die quodam comes noster machinam quamdam parvam quæ lingua vulgari catus dicitur, faciebat duci ad fodiendum castri murum.’ See also the chapters 52 & 63. The same William le Breton thus describes this machine in his second book :

————— ‘ Testudo texitur, ut sub
Illis tuto latens muri queat ima fubire
Fossor, et erectis ipsum fuccidere parmis.’

Ravedicus, in the second book of the history of Frederic I. c. 63. describing the siege of Crema, says that the inhabitants, to defend themselves against those who scaled the walls, or who descended on their walls from beffrois and towers of wood, made use of cats to enable them to attack the enemy within their machines. ‘ Magnaque audacia super muros, et in suis machinis, quas cattas appellant, operiuntur, et cum admoverentur pontes (the bridges of the beffrois) ipsi eos vel occuparent, vel dejicerent, murumque scalis ascendere nitentes vario modo deterrent.’

Rolandinus, l. 8. c. 13.

Chron. Antonii Godi Vicentini, p. 20, &c.

Matt. Paris in the year 1236.

Io. de Beka in Arnolde 49 Episc. Traject. Suffrid.

Petri in Joan. Heinsberg. Episc. Leod. c. 17.

The monk of Padua, l. 2. chr. c. 8.

William de Puylaurens, c. 30.

The duke of Cleves in his treatise on war, p. 57, and other authors have spoken of this machine, of which Vegetius has given a description in l. 4. c. 15, and likewise Aimoin in the third book of his history of France, chap. 71.

William Guiart, speaking of the siege of Bovines by Philip Augustus :

‘ Devant Boves fit l’ost de France,
Qui contre les Flamans contance,
Li mineur pas ne foumeillent,
Un chat bon et fort appareillent,
Tant euvrent deffous, et tant cavent,
Qu’une grant part du mur destravent.’

And in the year 1205,

‘ Un chat font fus le pont atraire,
Dont pieça mention feismes,
Qui fit de la roche meisimes,
Li mineur desous se lancent
Le fort mur a miner commencent,
Et font le Chat si aombrer,
Que riens ne les peut encombrer.’

They were also made use of to fill up the ditches that the Beffrois might be brought near to the walls, which was properly the use of the Musculi of the ancients according to Vegetius in the 16th chap. of the 4th book.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1142. ‘ Cati duo ad fossatum implendum magnis sumptibus compositi fuerunt.’ Add what the learned Lipsius writes, l. 1. *πολιορκητικων*, dial 7. and Angelo Portenari della felicità di Padua, l. 5. c. 5. p. 165. who have given an engraving and description of it.

The king St Louis caused two beffrois or towers of wood to be built, to guard those who were at work on the causeway, and these beffrois were called Chats-chateils; that is to say, ‘ Cati, castellati,’ because over these

cats were a fort of castles. They were not simple galleries like common cats, but galleries defended by towers and beffrois.

St Louis in his letter, speaking of this causeway, says,

‘ Saraceni autem e contra totis resistentes conatibus machinis nostris quas erexeramus, ibidem machinas opposuerunt quam plures, quibus castella nostra lignea, quæ super passum collocari feceramus eundem, conquassata lapidibus et confRACTA combusserunt totalita igne Græco.’

The lord de Joinville says, that there were two chateils in front of the cats, and two houses in their rear to receive the stones the Saracens cast from their machines; which is just as I have explained the passage, that the cats or galleries were defended by towers that were to oppose the showers of stones continually thrown from the enemies engines. I believe likewise that the lower stories of these machines were employed as cats, which was the reason of their being called *chas châtels*; that is to say, according to my former remark, cats fortified with castles.

The author who has described the siege of Zara by the Venetians in 1346. l. 2. c. 6. apud Joan. Lucium de regno Dalmat. thus represents this fort of cat:

‘ Aliud erat hoc ingenium, unus Cattus ligneus satis debilis erat confectionis quem machinæ jadræ sæpius jactando penetrabant, in quo erat constructa quædam eminens turris duorum propugnaculorum. Ipsam duæ maximæ carrucæ supportabant.’

Because these machines were not simple cats, such were called *chats faux* or *faux chats*, as had the form of belfreys or towers, but were nevertheless used for cats.

It is thus that the following passage in Froissart, vol. 1. chap. 121, must be understood: ‘ The next day two chief engineers came to the duke of Normandy, and said, that if he would supply them with wood and workmen, they would build two *chauffaux* (some copies have *chats*) of so great a height, that when brought near to the walls of the town they should overtop them.’ Hence comes the word *d’eschaffaux* among us to signify an elevated floor. See the *Recueil de Bourgogne* de M. Perard, p. 395.

(xcix) *Scecedun, son to the Sheik.* I have no doubt but that this name is a corruption, although the poitiers edition has the same; and the 'Mer des Histoires' calls it *Sefedus*, which seems something like *Scecedun*. It is, however, certain that the name of this lord, according to the oriental chronicle, is *Fachr-addin*; and William de Nangis, and the epistle of Saint Louis, respecting his capture and deliverance, is *Farchardin*. William Guiart calls him *Farchadin*, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 99, *Sacardin*, a name that is nearer to that of *Scecedun*. The lord de Joinville styles him son of the Sheik, which is conformable to the oriental chronicle, which also makes him son of the Sciach, 'filius Sciachi,' and adds, that the sultan Nagemaddin, before his decease, proclaimed him chief of his armies, and recommended his son to his care, who was at that time near Damascus.

Selden, in his titles of honour, part. 1. ch. 4. § 1. says that the arabian word *Seich* signifies senior, ancient, old, which is agreeable to the meaning the lord de Joinville afterwards gives to this word.

(c) *The emperor Ferrait.* Saladin had likewise been made a knight by Humphry de Toron, as we are told in the history of Jerusalem, p. 1152. in *Gest. Dei per Francos*, and not by Hugh de Tabarie, as some romances have advanced. This I notice, to prevent any surprise that a pagan should have been willing to receive the order of knighthood from a Christian lord. But we learn, on the other hand, that St Louis refused it to a Saracen, though at the entreaties of his own people, who had killed the sultan, saying for his excuse, 'Absit a me, ut vel pro servanda vita, vel morte declinanda, quemcumque a Christiana religione alienum, baltheo militari donere velim.' Apud Walding. anno 1254. n. 26.

With regard to *Fracardin*, if he received the order of knighthood from Frederic, it must have been during the truces this emperor made with the Saracens, and when he was crowned in Jerusalem in the year 1229, as Sanuto relates in the third book, part 11. ch. 12.

(ci) *Pierre d'Avalon.* In another part, he styles this knight his cousin. He married in the holy land Helvise, daughter to Raoul, who was the last son to William de Bures, prince of Tabarie. See the 'Lignage d'Outremer,'

c. 7. There is mention made of Joffelin d'Avalon in a title-deed of William de Nanteuil of the year 1210, in the cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts at Paris.

(cII) *And his banner was.* It results from this passage that armorial bearings were in use among the Mahometans, and that their sultans or princes had them painted on their banners. I shall hope to describe the arms of some among them, taken from manuscripts, in my families of the east.

(cIII) *The count Guy de Ferrois*, or rather *Ferois*; that is to say, count of Fôrets, as this name is thus found written in a deed of the year 1218, in the memoirs of M. Perard, p. 301. For he means Guy the fifth, count de Fôrets. See Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. c. 15, and the history of Burgundy by Andrew du Chesne, l. 3. ch. 75.

(cIV) *Greek fire.* Baldric, l. 3. of his history of Jerusalem, p. 125. 'Ignem quem Græcum vocant, in machinam jacere, πυρ Ρωμαικον in Theophanes: 'ignis Romaïcus' in Paulus Diaconus, l. 21. *Historiæ Miscellæ.*' This fire was so called, because it was first invented among the Greeks by Callinicus the architect, a native of Heliopolis, a town in Syria, under Constantinus Barbatus, as the above Theophanes has written; and likewise because the Greeks were for a long time the only people who preserved the use of it, which they very rarely communicated to any of their allies, as I have noticed in my observations on the history of Villehardouin, n. 113.

Anna Comnena says, that this fire was made with pitch and other gums from trees, mixed with sulphur, and the whole ground together.

Abbon, in the first book of the wars of Paris, has given the composition of it in these verses:

' Addit eis oleum, ceramque, picemque ministrans,
Mixta simul liquefacta foco ferventia valde,
Quæ Danis cervice comas uruntque trahuntque.'

The author of the history of Jerusalem, p. 1167, makes oil a part of the composition: at least, he names it 'oleum incendarium, quod ignem

Græcum vocant.' It may perhaps be Naphtha, which Procopius, in the 4th book of the war of the Goths, ch. 11. says, the Greeks call Μηδείας ελαιον, and the Medes *Naphtha*, which Lambecius, in his observations on Codinus, thinks should be corrected to Μηδείας ελαιον, oil of Media, and that for this reason the same Greeks have given to this artificial fire the name of Μηδικον πορ, which is met with in Cinnamus, p. 308. and in Codinus, page 7th of the royal edition.

There are others, however, who imagine Naphtha was called Μηδείας ελαιον, or πορ, because Medea, according to Pliny, l. 2. ch. 105. burnt her husband Jason with this fire. Whatever may be thought of this, Procopius, in the part quoted, informs us, that in the composition of this artificial fire, there was a mixture of naphtha with fulphur and bitumen.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. ch. 84. says, that in certain countries of the east there is a fountain, 'Ex cujus aquis ignis Græcus efficitur, quibusdam aliis admixtis, qui postquam vehementer fuerit accensus, vix aut nunquam potest extinguī, nisi aceto et hominum urina, et fabulo.'

Adam of Bremen, ch. 66. relates something similar in a place of the north, which he names 'Olla Vulcani, quam incolæ Græcum vocant ignem.' Vanoccio Biringuccio, in the tenth book of his Pyrotechny, chap. 9. has described all the materials that form part of the artificial fire-works which the Greeks made use of to burn the vessels of their enemies, from whence Theophanes, page 295. calls this fire πορ θαλασιον, and in page 352. πορ υγρον, sea fire, liquid fire. They made use of this fire when at sea, in two ways: first by fire-ships filled with this fire, that were floated among the enemies fleet, and thus set them on fire. These fire-ships are named by Theophanes, pp. 294. 352. κακαβοπυρφορος, that is to say, fire-ships; and I have shewn elsewhere, that the Greeks particularly employed for this service that sort of vessel called χελανδια, whence we have borrowed the word *Chaland*, a wood boat or barge, a name given to the boats on the Seine and Loire, and from which the Parisians call the bread brought by those boats *pain chaland*.

Fireships were used before the time of the emperor Constantinus barbatus, for Theophanes informs us, p. 100, that under the empire of Leon le grand, Genferic king of Africa, burnt with vessels that were filled with dry wood

and other combustibles, and which he floated down the stream, the whole of the grecian fleet. This serves to justify father Mambrun in his Constantine, who had been blamed for having first established in his reign the invention of fireships: to this charge he has replied in the preface of his edition of 1659. We have other instances of such fireships in the history of Theophanes, pp. 294. 331. 352. in Abbon, p. 503, and in various authors.

The other use made of artificial fires was in vessels employed in the pursuit after a battle, called *δρομονες*. On the prows of these vessels were placed large tubes of copper, through which they blew these fires into the enemy's ships. The emperor Leon in his tactics, ch. 19. n. 6. thus speaks of them, *εχετω δε παντως τον σιφωνα κατα την πρωραν εμπροσθεν χαλκω ημφιεσμενον, ως εθος, δια τετο εσκαυασμενον πορ κατα των εναντιον ακοντισοι.* He mentions them again in the notes 46 & 52, whence we learn that these are the vessels called by Theophanes, page 294, *δρομονες σιφωνοφοροι.*

With regard to the use of the greek fire in battles on land, it was different, for soldiers were then supplied with copper tubes, and blew it through them on their enemies. This is what Anna Comnena, in the 13th book of her Alexiade, expresses in the following terms: ' *τουτο (το πορ) μετα θειου τριβομενον εμβαλλεται εις αιλιδικους καλαμων και εμφυσεται παρα του παιζοντος λαβρω και συνεχει πνευματι καθ ούτως όμιλει τω προς ακραν πυρι και εξαπτεται.* '

Sometimes they threw sharp bolts of iron, covered with tow, well oiled and pitched, with which they set fire to the engines. Of this we have instances in Albert of Aix, book 7. chapters third and fifth, and also in a letter on the taking of Damietta, in the additions to Matt. Paris, page 108.

Joinville speaks of this fire, ' and they opened a very quick fire upon us with balls made of the greek fire.' Sometimes this fire was put into phials and pots, as may be collected from this letter, and from Albert d'Aix, l. 10. ch. 4. And in the tactics of Leon, ch. 19. n. 55. In short it was discharged from perrieres and cross-bows, as the lord de Joinville notices in the part above mentioned.

Albert d'Aix, l. 7. ch. 5. remarks, that ' *hujus ignis genus aqua erat inextinguibile;* ' but there were other materials by which it could be extinguished, namely, vinegar and sand.

Matt. Paris in the year 1219, ‘ Nam ignis græcus de turri eminus projectus fulminis instar veniens pavorem non minimum videlibus incussit : sed per liquorem acetosum et fabulum et cætera extinctoria est subventum.’

In the history of Jerusalem, ‘ Ignis iste pernicioso fœtore, flammisque livientibus filices et ferrum confumit : et cum aquis vinci nequeat, arena resperfus comprimitur, aceto perfusus sedatur.’

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. ch. 84, adds urine as an extinguisher ; and Cinnamus, in the place before quoted, says that ships were frequently covered with cloths dipped in vinegar, to prevent the bad effects of this fire. I omit, in this place, the many observations I have made on the greek fire, in my remarks on Villehardouin.

(cv) *Trect & pilote.* ‘ Pilot,’ Spiculum. *Pilet* in the romance of Garin :

‘ Volent pilet plus que pluies en prè,
Et les fajettes et carriax empanès.’

William Guiart, in the year 1214, says,

‘ Ribaces qui de l’ost se partent,
Par les chams ça et la s’épartent,
Li uns une pilete porte,
L’autre croc, ou maquë torte.’

And further on,

‘ Maçes levées et piletes,
Se fierent parmi les vilettes.’

(cvi) *Tandeis.* The edition of Poitiers is in this instance more correct, reading it *Taudies*, p. 50. for it is thus Froissart, the duke of Cleves and others write this word. It should seem that the Greeks of the middle ages have borrowed from us, or we from them, the word *ταλδον*, signifying the baggage of an army, which is most commonly in confusion and disorder ; and this is the meaning of the words *toudis* or *taudis* in our historians.

See the glossaries of Rigaltius and Meurfius.

(cvii) *Du merrain.* Materials of beams of wood. See the glossaries.

(CVIII) *John d'Orleans*. See what I have said respecting this family in my observations on Villehardouin, note 5.

(CIX) *The lord de Coucy*. Son to Enguerrand, of whom mention has been made before. See the history of this house by Andrew du Chêne, book 6. chap. 7.

(CX) *To the number of three hundred*. The oriental chronicle says, that the French lost in this defeat, beside the brother of the king, fourteen hundred knights.

(CXI) *Over the ears of my horse*. After these words, as far as 'to the walls of this ruined house,' the Poitiers edition has, 'And the Saracens would have killed me, had it not been for sir Arnaud de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, who came most valiantly to my succour, and the vigorous gallantry he displayed. He had left the cross-bows, which he was conducting to the camp with the duke of Burgundy, and had followed the count de Poitiers, whom he would never abandon in any serious affair. From the time he gave me this timely assistance, there never was a day of my life that I did not most affectionately love him.'

'After I was thus rescued from the Saracens, the viscount de Couzerans and myself retired towards a house that had been destroyed to wait for the king, who was coming, and in the mean time I found an opportunity of recovering my horse. But while we were waiting near this house, a fresh troop of Saracens appeared, who seeing the main body of our people in our rear, pushed by us to attack them: in their passage they flung me to the ground with my shield over my neck, and galloped over me, thinking me dead, which was nearly the case. When they had passed, sir Arnaud de Commenge, after having courageously fought the Saracens, returned to me, and raised me from the ground, and then we went to the walls of this ruined house,' &c.

I perceive by this text, that the lord de Joinville attributes the succour given him on this occasion to the viscount de Couzerans; whereas, in the

edition of Cl. Menard, he gives the glory to Erard d'Eymeray, knight; and in page 101, line 9, instead of the four following lines, beginning *a donc en cette detresse*, &c. as far as *et tantouft*, there is in the edition of Poitiers, 'Sir Arnaud de Commenge was wounded in two parts of his body, in the shoulders, and under one of his arms.' In short, at page 54, his valour, and the arms of his family, are spoken of. Perhaps Pierre de Rieux, who is the editor of this edition, being a native of Languedoc, may have inserted these fragments into the history of the lord de Joinville, in favour of the house of Comminges.

It is certain, that this Arnaud, viscount de Couzerans, bore the surname of Espagne, as may be collected from the last will of Roger IV. count de Foix, whose daughter he married in the year 1264, and which is published by M. de Marca in the 24th chap. notes 8th and 9th of the 8th book of his history of Béarn. He was son to Roger de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, issue of Bernard count de Commenge and Cecilia de Foix. He was also count de Pailhars in Spain.

(CXII) *A sword from Germany.* William Guiart, in the life of Philip Augustus, speaks of these german swords:

' A grans espées d'Allemagne
Leur tranchent souvent les poins outre.'

In his description of the battle of Bovines, he says that the Germans fought with short and sharp swords.

' Alemans uns coutiaus avoient,
Dont aus François se combatoient,
Grailles et agus à trois quieres,
L'en en peut ferir sus pierres.'

In speaking of the battle of Beneventum, he gives them long swords:

' Car les deus mains en haut levées,
Gietent d'une longues espées,
Souef tranchans à larges meures.'

The emperor Nicephorus Phocas reproaches the Germans, through his ambassador Luitprandus for their long swords. In some old ordinances of

the town of Paris mention is made of the swords of Lubec. The French, on the contrary, used short swords. William Guiart :

‘ Li François espées reportent,
Courtes et roides, dont ils taillent.’

And in the year 1301,

‘ Espées viennent aus fervifes,
Et font de diverse semblance,
Mes François qui d’accoustumance
Les ont courtes, assez légieres,
Gietent aus Flamens vers les Chieres.’

(CXIII) *For none used the bow.* To kill an enemy by the bow, cross-bow or other artillery, has never been esteemed by the French an action of valour. They only valued blows from the hand, sword or lance, which required address and skill; and it was for this reason, that in process of time, they forbade the use of cross-bows, arrows and poisoned darts: it was not sufficient to destroy the enemy by any means whatever, it was necessary that he should be conquered by fair force, and with such arms as displayed the dexterity of the person using them. It is certain that the above-mentioned arms have been forbidden at various times by the popes, and particularly at the council held at Rome under pope Innocent II. in the year 1139, ch. 29.

The emperor Conrad was one of the Christian princes who forbade their use for similar reasons, as we learn from William de Dole, who lived before the year 1200, when he introduces Raoul de Houdanc, and makes him say that this emperor forbade the cross-bow.

‘ Par effort de lance et d’escu
Conqueroit toz ses ennemis :
Ja arbalestriers ni fu mis
Por sa guerre en autoritez,
Par avoir et par mauvaiistié
Les tiennent ore li haut home.
Por demi le thresor de Rome.
Ne vofist-il, n’a droit, n’a tort
Qu’uns en eut un preudhome mort.’

From whence it is easy to judge, that we must interpret favourably the terms of the breton poet, when, in the second book of his Philippiade, he says, that Richard I. king of England invented cross-bows, it must be explained by his meaning that king Richard revived the use of them during his reign. This, indeed, Brompton says in express words: ‘ Ipse siquidem hoc genus sagittandi, quod arcubalistarum dicitur, jam dudum sopitum, ut dicitur, in usum revocavit.’ This is so strictly true, that in every action we read of in the histories of the first croisades, they made use of bows and cross-bows.

(cxiv) *The duke of Burgundy.* Andrew du Chefne, in his history of the dukes of Burgundy, ch. 9. might, from this passage and three or four others of the lord de Joinville’s memoirs, have cleared up his doubts, whether this duke accompanied the king St Louis in his expedition to Egypt.

(cxv) *Gaubifon.* It should be *Gambifon*, which is the name of this sort of dress. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, of the year 1322, ‘ Adæ armentario 40. Sol. 4. d. pro factione Gambesonorum.’ In an account respecting the bailiffs of France, of the year 1268, ‘ Expensæ pro cendatis, bourra ad Gambesones, tapetis,’ &c.

In a deed of Henry, lord of Sully, of the year 1301, of the franchises of the town of Aix, ‘ Quicumque vero 20 librarum, vel amplius habebit de mobilibus, tenebitur habere loricam, vel loricale, et capellum ferreum, et lanceam. Qui vero minus de 20 libris habebit de mobili, tenebitur habere gambesam et capellum ferreum, et lanceam.’

Roger Hoveden, in the year 1181, uses the word *Wanbasia*, and in page 614 that of *Wanbais*. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, containing an inventory of the wearing apparel of the king Louis Hutin, taken in the year 1316, has, among other articles, the following:

‘ Item, Une cotte gamboisée de cendal blanc.

Item, Deux tunics et un gamboison de bordures des armes de France.

Item, Une couverture de gamboisons broudées des armes du roi.

Item, Trois paires de couvertures gamboisées des armes du roi, et unes Indes jazequenées.

Item, Un cuifiax gamboifez.

Item, Unes couvertures gamboifées de France et de Navarre.'

I have explained, in my observations on Villehardouin, note 88, that the gamboifon was a quilted drefs, well ftuffed with wool, that had been foaked in, and beat up with vinegar, which Pliny, in the 48th chapter of his 8th book, fays refifts iron.

Nicetas thus describes the gambefon in the first book of his life of the emperor Ifaac. This fort of work is called *Coachle* by Alpianus in l. 25. § 1. de auro argent, &c. And in the Gloss. Lat. Græc. where it is tranflated, from the word *πιλωτον*, the workmen are named *Coactiliarii*; and *Lanarii Coactores* in an ancient infcription. Whence the learned imagine, that the words *feltrum* and *filtrum* in the writers of the middle ages, and of *αφελετρον* among the Greeks, have fimilar fignifications.

(CXVI) *The lord de Chastillon.* Gaucher, who has been before mentioned.

(CXVII) *The master of the Temple.* He is called Frere Guillaume de Sonnac in the additions to Matt. Paris, page 110.

(CXVIII) *Guyon de Malvoisin.* The fecond of the name, lord of Rosny. See the genealogy of that family in the history of the house of Dreux, l. 1. ch. 8. page 115. and in that of Bethune, l. 6. ch. 5. p. 416. where this lord and his alliances are fpoken of.

(CXIX) *The Bedouins.* The lord de Joinville has here confounded, as elfewhere, the Bedouins with the Affaffins, although Jacques de Vitry, in his history of Jerufalem, ch. 12. (whence he feems to have drawn what he fays of thefe people), and Aython, ch. 35, 51, 55. make two nations of them; and Jacques de Vitry fays pofitively they were Arabians, and their refidence near Aleppo and Crach, in Arabia, and that the Affaffins inhabited a canton of the province of Phœnicia, inclofed by mountains near Tortofa. However this may be, every writer agrees that the Bedouins were a wandering and vagabond people.

The history of the asiatic expedition of the emperor Frederic I. in the fifth volume of the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Canisius, thus speaks of them.

‘Est autem consuetudo incolarum illius terræ, qui Sylvestres, Turci, five Beduini dicuntur, carere domibus, et omni tempore degendo in tabernaculis de pascuis ad pascua se transferre cum gregibus et armentis. Hi semper in armis ad bella proni sunt et accincti,’ &c.

We must compare our author with Jacques de Vitry and Sanuto, in the various places quoted, respecting the opinions held by these people touching fate, and their modes of living and fighting, which are perfectly conformable to what the lord de Joinville has written of them.

Arnoul de Lubec, l. 7. ch. 10. Brocardius in his history of the holy land, and others, have noticed these people.

(cxx) *The law of Aly.* Aly was not uncle to Mahomet, but his cousin, and son-in-law, having married his daughter Fatima. William of Tyre, l. 1. ch. 4. l. 19. ch. 20. Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 8. and the writers of the mahometan histories, relate at length the difference of the religion established by Mahomet, and that introduced by Aly, the latter of which was embraced by the caliphs of Egypt, who for that reason are called *Fatimites*, in the eastern chronicle, from the name of *Fatima*, wife of Aly.

(cxxi) *Walter de Chastillon.* Read Gaucher, as before noticed in note 116.

(cxxii) *A priest.* Anna Comnena, in the 292d page of the tenth book of her *Alexiade*, reproaches the Latins for their clergy putting on armour, and with sword and lance hastening to the field of battle when they have but just received the order of priesthood, which is directly forbidden by the Greeks:

Petrus Diaconus, in the fourth book of the chronicle of Monte Cassino, makes the same charge, and introduces a Greek thus speaking to a Latin:

‘In occidentali climate Propheticum illud videmus impletum, erit ut populus, sic sacerdos cum pontifices ad bella prodeant, ut papa vester Innocentius.’

Doubtless it is not without reason that the Greeks have so often made this reproach to the Latins; seeing that although it has been forbidden by all the councils for priests to handle arms, or interfere in battles as combatants, yet notwithstanding they are there to be found fighting like seculars. Thus we read, that Ebles abbot of St Germain des Près, and Goffelin bishop of Paris, fought valiantly against the Normans, who had besieged the capital of France. The clergy not only fought against the infidels, but against the Christians; witness the bishop of Beauvais, who, at the battle of Bovines, struck the earl of Salisbury to the ground with his battle-axe.

Gregory of Tours, in l. 4. ch. 43. l. 5. ch. 20. l. 8. ch. 39. of his history, and others of our own historians, furnish an infinite number of examples, which I pass over, to avoid entering into too long a detail. I shall merely remark, that the cardinal Baronius, in his ecclesiastical annals of the year 888, complains that our historians praise bishops and abbots for their courage and address in battle, although they deserve blame as persons who act contrary to the duties of their office, and as violators of the canons of the church.

See the epistle of pope Adrian to Charlemagne, in the 3d vol. of the historians of France, p. 754. Petr. Damianus, l. 1. epist. 15.

(CXXIII) *Flung his dagger.* The word *dague* is still in use for a small knife or dagger. The Spaniards call it *dagas*, the English *dagger*.

The statutes of William king of Scotland, cap. 23.

‘Habeat equum, habergeon, capitium e ferro et cultellum, qui dicitur dagger.’

In Thomas of Walsingham, p. 252. ‘Extracto cultello, quem dagger vulgo dicimus, ictum militi minebatur.’

See the same author, page 332. Hen. Knighton in Edw. III. the chronicle of Flanders, page 232. Monstrelet, vol. 1. ch. 98. &c.

(CXXIV) *Who died in the battle.* The epistle of St Louis, on the subject of this capture, notices, in like manner, the death of Fracardin, in the battle that was fought on Shrove Tuesday; and the eastern chronicle says, he was

slain the 75th day of his reign, which, according to his calculation, brings it to the 8th of February, infomuch that the fultan Nagem-Addin died the 25th of November.

(cxxv) *The Refil*. I have before said some little of this place, which is situated on the branch of the Nile called *Rexi*, and by the Arabians *Rafchit* or *Rafit*, which has probably taken its name from this town, which Jean Leon, l. 8. p. 263. calls *Rafid*. Aython, ch. 64. *Refint*. William of Tyre, l. 19. c. 21 & 26. *Refsit*. Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 9. *Rofith*, and the Latins *Rofetum*.

(cxxvi) *Guy Guivelins*. The edition of Poitiers reads *Guy de Grimefins*; but there is a mistake in each, for it should be *Ibelin*. This Guy d'Ibelin and Baudouin, his brother, were the sons of John lord d'Ibelin and de Baruth. Guy was constable, and Baudouin seneschal of Cyprus. See the 'Lignage d'Outremer.'

(cxxvii) *De la Horgne*. The Poitiers edition has *de la Horgue*.

I know not why the lord de Joinville should have given the title of Count to the lord d'Aspremont, which is not to be found in any writer of this period.

(cxxviii) *Vigorously driven from the army*. After these words, the Poitiers edition has as follows:

'And in this engagement fir Arnaut de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, shewed himself bold and adventurous, of whom I have before spoken when I received such timely succour from him. This count bore for arms on his banner, a field or, with a bordure gules, which, as he has since told me, had been given to his predecessors, who had the surname of Espagne, in former times, from the king Charlemagne, for the great services the viscounts of Couzerans had rendered him when he was on his expedition in Spain against the infidels, and likewise because his ancestors had driven the Saracens out of the country of Commenge, and restored it under the obedience of Charlemagne.'

(cxxxix) *Jofferand de Brançon.* Jofferand, the second of the name, lord of Brancion, (Brancidunum in Latin,) son to Henry Gros, and grandson to Jofferand I. lords of Brancion. He accompanied Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople, when he went to take possession of the empire, after the death of his father-in-law, John de Brienne, as Albericus informs us. He married Margaret de Vienne, daughter to Gaucher, lord of Salins, and begot Henry, third of the name, father to Margaret, married to Bernard de Choiseul, lord de Traves, about the year 1272.

The lord de Joinville says, in this place, that Jofferand was his uncle, which Andrew du Chefne, in his history of the house of Vergy, l. 2. ch. 6. supposes must be understood as welln uncle, probably on his mother's side.

Albericus in the year 1193.

A. du Chefne in the place quoted.

M. Guichenon in his history of Bresse, part 1. ch. 36. and in his *Bibliotheca Sebustiane*, pp. 174, 244, 344, 357, 366, 433, 434, 437, 444, 445.

Claude de St Julien aux antiquités de Mâcon, pp. 282, 319, 346.

Le Pere Vigner in his genealogies of Alsace and Lorraine.

M. Perard in his memoirs of Burgundy, pp. 496, 522, and others, have amply spoken of this family.

(cxxx) *The count de Mascon.* John de Dreux, or de Braine, son to Robert, second count de Dreux and de Mâcon, in right of his wife Alix, only daughter to Gerard, count de Vienne, by which connection he was cousin to Jofferand, lord of Brancion, on account of his wife, Margaret de Vienne, daughter to Gaucher de Vienne, lord of Salins, who was youngest brother to William, count de Mâcon, father to Gerard.

(cxxxix) *For when a king.* It is still the custom of the Turks to compose their principal military force, the Janisaries, from tributary children, sent for this purpose every fifth year by commissaries established in the provinces, from children carried off from Christians, whom they instruct in their religion, and train up to military exercises. These soldiers, thus educated, and unacquainted with their parents and birth, only acknowledge

the grand signor for their father and protector, which is one of the best political maxims of the infidels, although contrary to the law of nature.

See on this subject W. of Tyre, l. 13. ch. 23.

Aython, ch. 50.

Sanuto, l. 1. part 3. ch. 2. l. 2. part. 2. c. 6.

Pachymeres, in his MS. history, l. 3. c. 3.

Jean Leon, in his description of Africa, l. 9. page 275, and particularly the discourses and observations of M. de Breves, ambaffador from the king to the porte, in the treatise which he has composed, of the sure means to ruin the Turks.

(CXXXII) *De la Haulcqua*. In the edition of Poitiers it is *de la Halcqua*.

(CXXXIII) *Admiral*. That is to say, as the lord de Joinville explains this word, captain, or governor of a province or place, chief of an army or smaller body of troops. The word is derived from the Arabic *emir* or *amir*, which signifies *lord*, according to W. of Tyre, l. 21. c. 23.

Rigord in the year 1195.

Sanuto, l. 3. part. 3. ch. 5.

Mariana, in his history of Spain, l. 6. ch. 11.

Victor Cayet in paradig. 4 Linguar.

M. de Marca, in his hist. of Béarn, l. 2. ch. 2. n. 11.

Leunclav. Watfius, and others.

The same thing is observed by the lord de Villerval in his manuscript travels, in the chapter on the condition and nature of the fultans, of their admirals and slaves, &c.

‘ Item, The fultan of Babylon has always, as they tell me, as well in Cairo as in the environs, about ten thousand slaves in his pay, who fight for him when war makes it necessary, some with two horses, and others with more or less, according to their circumstances. It must be known, that these slaves are from foreign nations, such as Tartary, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Sclavonia, Wallachia, Ruffia, Greece, and other countries, as

well from those of the Christians, as elsewhere. They are not called the sultan's slaves unless they be bought with his money, or sent to him as presents from distant countries. In these slaves he trusts wholly for the guard of his person, and he gives them women, houses, horses and robes, and places them, when young, under masters, to teach them the art of war. According to their different abilities, he appoints one captain of ten lancemen, another of twenty, another of fifty, another of one hundred; and, thus rising, they are made, one governor of Jerusalem, another king, or ruler, of Damascus, another chief governor of Cairo, and thus with other officers of that country.'

The word *admiral* is printed by different writers various ways. This officer is called by the Greeks, *Αμύραυ, Αμυραυοι*, and by the Latins of the middle ages, *Amirabiles, Admiraldi, &c.* This much is however certain, that we have borrowed the word from the infidel nations, and commonly style the chiefs of naval armaments admirals, because those from whom we have adopted it thus applied the word.

(cxxxiv) *Had gained some fortune.* M. de Breves, in the treatise to which I have before alluded, remarks, that at this day such is the conduct of the Turks.

(cxxxv) *The counts of Montfort and of Bar,*—Who were defeated, and made prisoners by the garrison of Gaza in the year 1239. See G. de Nangis in his life of St Louis, and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 15. ch. 15.

(cxxxvi) *The king of Armenia.* Constans. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 3. ch. 29.

(cxxxvii) *Had a son.* He was named Afmoaddamo Gajiat-addin Taranciac, according to the oriental chronicle, or Melec-Esmahadin, as in the fragment de Statu Saracenorum, to. 1. S. hist. Franc. p. 432. and the MS. french chronicle of William de Nangis.

St Louis, in his letter, says that he came to Massoura 'de partibus orientis,' thirteen days after the death of Frachardin, according to the

oriental chronicle, that is to say about the twenty-second of February. See what has been said before concerning his death:

(CXXXVIII) *The golden wands.* The modern Greeks call these wands of the magistrates, and officers of the palace at Constantinople, *δικανικια*, as we learn from Codinus, being ensigns of superiority and of justice.

(CXXXIX) *Carefmentrant.* He thus calls Shrove-Tuesday. A deed of the year 1196, cited in the proofs to the history of Savoy by Guichenon, p. 45. ‘a Natali Domini usque ad Carementrannum.’

(CXL) *The flesh on our legs became dried up.* In the ‘chronicon incerti auctoris,’ quoted in the history of the counts de Toulouse by M. Catel, in the year 1250, ‘infirmetas vero multa oritur in exercito Christiano dolore maxillarum et dentium, et tibiaram tumore, qui infra paucos dies morabatur, vixque sufficiebant mortuos sepelire.’

(CXLI) *Hugh de Landricourt.* This lord, or his father, appears in the cartulary in the chamber of accounts at Paris, in two title-deeds of Simon, lord de Joinville, of the years 1210 and 1218.

(CXLII) *The treaty with their consent.* Sanuto, l. 2. part 2. ch. 9. says, that by this treaty the sultan of Babylon offered to give up to the king the town of Damietta, with the adjacent country, for a residence to those Christians that might remain in Egypt, called at that period, ‘Christiani de Cinctura: quia cingulum portabant latum et vestimentum, per quod recognoscebantur ab aliis, (Jacobitis scilicet et aliis Christianis).’ This has been also noticed in the chronicle of Odoricus de Frioul, which he has carried down to the pontificate of Benedict XII. at which time they were denominated *Centurini*.

(CXLIII) *The dysentery.* In the lapidary manuscript, in the chapter of Amethysts, it is said, ‘that it destroys dead flesh from wounds, and stops the dysentery.’

(CXLIV) *Garrotz*. Bolts from cross-bows, or rather from springals.
Guiart, in the year 1304,

‘ Quarriaus traient au cliqueter,
Et font l’espringalle geter,
Li garros qui lors de la ist,
Les plus viguerous esbahit.’

And further on,

‘ Et font geter leurs espringalles,
Ca et la fonnent li clairain,
Li garrot empané d’arain,
Lassent leur lieus de ce me vent,
Plustost que tempeste ne vent.’

In the same year,

‘ Espringalles font leur servise,
Dont li garrot en main lieu faillent.’

Fauchet derives this word from *quadrellus*, which the writers of the middle ages made use of for quarrels, or bolts for cross-bows. M. Menage thinks it comes from *verutum*, the diminutive of *veru*.

(CXLV) *The king was made prisoner*. On the 5th day of April. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. chap. 100, &c. The author of the life of St Boniface, bishop of Laufanne, ch. 4. l. 15. in Bolandus, and at the date of the 19th February, says, that during the time St Louis was in the holy land, there came a voice from heaven to this holy bishop when at his prayers, saying, ‘ Scias pro certe regem Franciæ hodie trahi in manus gentium et multos è populo suo occidendos, et reliquos duci captivos:’ which is what happened.

(CXLVI) *Philip of Montfort*,—who was afterward lord of Tyr. I notice him and his descendants in my families of the east.

(CXLVII) *Their towels*. Turbans are commonly made of napkins or other linen wrapped round the head. The lord de Joinville, in another part, says, ‘ And know that they received heavy blows on these towels:’

they, however, wore them when going to battle, and they are tightly wrapped round one over the other.'

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 55. speaking of Saphadin, says, 'Ipse quidem Saphadinus equitans filios suos visitaturus involvitur pura syndone caput:' which the MS. treatise of expeditions to the holy land thus translates, 'Saphadin li peres, quant il chevalche, va voir ses fiex, si chevalche fa teste couvert d'un vermeil samit.'

See Leunclavius in Pand. Turc. n. 240. The latin authors of the middle ages have differently written this word *toïaille*; the chronicle of Fontenelle uses *toacula*, Odoricus de Frioul *toalia*, the Roman Ceremonial in MS. *tobalea*, Johannes de Janua *togilla*, Kero Mon. Mappula, Duvahila.

(CXLVIII) *In pagan countries.* He repeats this same thing afterwards, and it is probable that this mode of acting was common to infidels since the annals of France drawn from the church of Metz in the year 844, attribute it to the Normans.

(CXLIX) *On the escot. of my vessel.* In the edition of Poitiers, it is *escr.*

NOTES

ON

THE THIRD PART

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE,

BY M. DU CANGE.

(I) *Montfaucon de Bar.* SEE the history of the house of Bar by A. du Chesne, p. 18.

(II) *The emperor of Germany.* Frederic II. who had been crowned king of Jerufalem, and held all the places in that kingdom.

(III) *The hospital of Rhodes.* This passage, which is likewise in the edition of Poitiers, confirms my belief, that the history has been altered in its language, and even in essential points, which shew that some have retouched the discourses of the lord de Joinville, which are not so clear as this, as may be easily inferred from his original letter, which I have inserted in his eulogium; for beside this instance, and others that I have noticed, either he himself, or some other, must have corrected it after the year 1308, at which time the knights of St John of Jerufalem seized the island of

Rhodes from the Turks, according to John Villani, l. 9. ch. 104. where they afterwards established themselves.

(iv) *En Bernicles*. See the nineteenth dissertation, where this torment is spoken of.

(v) *Ten hundred thousand besants of gold*. I reserve to the twentieth dissertation a notice of the ransom of St Louis.

(vi) *Barguiner*. That is to say, *bargain*. A statute for the tradesmen of Paris in Brodeau, sur la coutume de Paris, art. 89. has, ‘ Si une personne barguine denrée à l’estail, ou a l’ouvrier d’un marchand, ou il veut acheter,’ &c. The English use the word *bargain* to express an agreement or convention. The capitularies of Charles le chauve, tit. 28. ‘ Quia et fœminæ barcaniare solent,’ on which father Sirmond says, that ‘ barcaniare, est licitando cunctari.’ A title-deed of St Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, of the year 1145, which is in the cartulary of the bishoprick of Auxerre, expresses more strongly the meaning of this word, according to the sense of our author: ‘ De illis qui pisces vendunt, comes habet 4. creditarios, in quibus episcopus nihil accipit. Si ad alios thelonearius episcopi primus advenerit, et primus barguinauerit, tantum accipiet, quantum curia episcopi necesse habebit, et thelonearius comitis faciet, si pariter venerint, pariter accipient quod invenient. Similiter in aliis victualibus facient.’

It is doubtful whether the word *barganaticum*, which is right of taxation, mentioned in some old charters of Charlemagne, and others of an older date, which are to be found in the chronicle of Verdun, by Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, in the year 755, and in the history of the abbey of St Denis by Doublet, pp. 708, 709. has any signification relative to the above. It is uncertain whether this impost was put on merchandise sold in open market, or whether it was collected from boats on rivers.

Joseph Scaliger, on Festus, supposes that this word comes from *bargena* of the Latins, the meaning of which, however, that Cujas gives, has no connection with *barguinement*.

(VII) *Who flew him.* A chronicle, published by M. Catel, of the year 1249, says, that the fultan was killed by his own people, in a dispute about the ransom of St Louis. The lord de Joinville writes, that he was slain by those of the haulcqua. Matt. Paris says, that he was poisoned by his chamberlains. Aython, in ch. 52. says it was done by the Comains, and the oriental chronicle by the Mamelukes. This difference is easily reconciled, for the lord de Joinville has before said, that the knights of the haulcqua formed part of the military force of the fultans of Egypt, composed of children sent as tribute. Aython adds, that these tributary children were from Comania; and that Melec-Sala, fultan of Egypt, having learnt that the Tartars had invaded the kingdom of Comania, and were selling at a low price the poor inhabitants of that country, sent thither merchants, with large sums of money, who bought great numbers of children, whom they led into Egypt, and who, after they had learnt every warlike exercise, were selected, as the fultan's guard, and sent as governors to the different provinces, and raised to the chief command of the armies.

Hence William de Nangis, and the fragment on the state of the Saracens during the reign of St Louis, in the 5th vol. of the historians of France, say, that the fultan was killed by sixty of his captains, who were of these Comanians. These foreign soldiers were, in the arabian language, called Mamelukes, as we learn from William of Tyre, l. 2. ch. 23. This gives us the reason why the oriental chronicle writes, that the fultan was slain by the Mamelukes.

(VIII) *The town of Damietta.* It was then under the guard of the duke of Burgundy and Olivier de Termes, in which the legate and a number of prelates had saved themselves; as did likewise the queen of France, according to Matt. Paris. Aython, ch. 24. says, that when it had been surrendered to the Saracens, they completely destroyed it, and made it a desert, building another town farther distant from the river and sea, to which they gave the name of New Damietta. Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 10. adds, that this new town was begun about the year 1220, when the Saracens, desirous to

blockade the town of Damietta that had been taken by John king of Jerusalem, had encamped themselves on the other side of the river, and constructed several houses, which they then called New Damietta.

(IX) *Morentaigne*. Mauritania.

(X) *Nous esperions*. *Esperer* is frequently used by old french writers to signify 'to fear.' Our lord de Joinville says, in the first part of his memoirs, 'Et esperions estre tous en peril de mort.' And further on, 'J'esperoie beaucoup plus la mort que la vie.' The Latins also use it in the same sense: 'Auter Breviloqui, Achirologia, est dictio improprie posita, ut timeo requiem, spero laborem.' The 25th law of the theodosian code, 'de petitionib. et ultro dat. Cum per illyrici partes barbaricus speraretur incurfus.'

(XI) *Philip de Nemours*. The person who sold to St Louis the town and castlewick of Nemours. See the genealogy of this family in the history of the house of Dreux, l. 2. ch. 1.

(XII) *The marshal of France*. Alberic Clement, who attended the king St Louis on this expedition. See the chronicle of Flanders, chap. 20.

(XIII) *The master of the Trinity*. Nicholas, general of the order of Mathurins, which in those times was called the Order of Asses: 'Eo quod asinos equitabant, non equos,' as an old chronicle of the year 1198, tells us, tom. 2. Spicileg.

In an account relative to the king's household in the year 1330, 'les freres des Asnes de Fontainebliaut, ou madame fut espousée.'

Albericus in his chronicle, and Jacques de Vitry, in his history of the west, ch. 25. remark in like manner, that those of this order, 'humilitatis Christi formam expressius imitantes, aut pedibus ambulant, aut super asinos equitantes incedunt.'

This general died in the year 1256.

(xiv) *By balance weight.* By this we learn, that what Louis Lasseré, purveyor to the college of Navarre, has introduced in the life of St Louis, which he has dedicated, with that of St Jerome, to Louisa de Bourbon, abbess of Fontevraud, and published last year without the name of the author, is only a vulgar error, stating, that when the ransom of the king was fixed at eight hundred thousand golden besants, there were instantly coined a similar number at Paris from gold which he had exacted from the people and sent off by Charles count of Anjou, whom his brother the king saint Louis had ordered to return to France expressly for this purpose.

Perhaps what Matt. Paris relates in the year 1250, page 521. may have given rise to what the above author has advanced. This money having been sent from France during the time when he was near Damietta attacked on all sides by the Saracens. It is also another vulgar error, that St Louis paid for his ransom his weight in gold, and that he put himself into the scales for this purpose, the word *besans* having caused the mistake.

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,

‘ Un jour estoit li princes* levés de son disner,
En chambre de retrait estoit voulu aller,
Avec ses barons aus espices donner ;
Et tant que li baron prirent a deviser,
Et d’armes et d’amours, et beaus fais recorder,
De mors, de chevaliers de prisons racheter,
Et de plusieurs estats, et des fais d’outremer,
Et comme St Louys pour son ame sauver,
Se laissa prendre en Tunes, et il se fit peser
De fin or en balance, pour son cors delivrer.’

I wish not to forget in this place what I noticed in the register of the chamber of accounts at Paris, intitled *Nofter*, which was communicated to me by M. d’Herouval, that to make up the ransom of St Louis, there was borrowed, or rather deducted, from the expenses of his household, the sum of 167,102 livres. As the extract I made from it furnishes us with several circumstances relative to the reigns of St Louis and other kings of France, I have thought I should oblige the public by inserting it in this place.

* The prince of Wales.

‘ Domina Margareta comitissa Valesii, mater regis Philippi de Valesio obiit in festo S. Silvestri, anno 1299.

‘ Domina Catherina comitissa Valesii imperatrix C. Politana obiit mart. post S. Silvestrum, 1307.

‘ D. Carolus comes Valesii pater regis Philippi de Valesio obiit 16. die Decemb. 1325.

‘ Ludovicus de Valesio filius dicti comitis et frater dicti regis ob. 2. die Novembris 1328.

‘ Rex Philippus de Valesio recessit de Piffiaco de nocte 13 die Junii 1330 pro eundo in Massiliam et Avenionem peregre.

‘ Comes Pictavenfis ob. anno 1271.

‘ S. Ludovicus obiit crastino S. Barthol. 1270, pro cuius redemptione captæ fuerunt per hospitium suum anno 1250, 167,102 lib. 18. S. 8. d. Tur.

‘ Rex Philippus suus filius obiit ante candelos anno 1285.

‘ Rex Philippus pulcher filius dicti regis Philippi ob. an. 1316.

‘ Rex Joannes filius reg. Ludovici obiit in ætate 8 dierum.

‘ Rex Philippus magnus filius regis Philippi pulchri, et frater regis Ludovici, obiit 2 Jan. 1321.

‘ Rex Carolus frater dicti regis pulchri et Ludovici obiit 1. Febr. 1327.

‘ Militia dictorum trium fratrum fuit in Pentecoste 1313.

‘ Rex Philippus de Valesio natus fuit an. 1293, et devenit ad regnum mense Febr. 1327. Coronatus fuit die S. Trinit. 1328. et habuit victoriam contra Flamingos 23 Aug.

‘ Ad Magdalenam 1294, dicitur incepisse secundum viagium Vasconiae pro guerra.

‘ Anno 1324, incæpit alia guerra Vasconiae.

‘ Terra Ducatus Aquitaniae fuit in manu regis Franc. ab omnibus sanctis 1299, usque ad 3. diem post O. S. 1304, quo fuit reddita regi Angliæ.

‘ Expensæ hospitii S. Ludovici ultra mare pro anno finito ad ascens. 1251, 48,588 lib. 14. f. 1. d. Tur. et pro gentibus armorum et navigiis 240,400 lib. 14. d. Tur. apud Accon. et Tyrum.

‘ Redemptio dicti sancti eodem anno 167,102 lib. 18. f. 8. d. Tur.

‘ Dieta sine guerra et redemptione pro expensis per diem 133 lib. 9. d. Tur.

‘ Expensæ ejus hospitii pro anno finito ad ascensionem 1252, 56,407 lib. 18. f. 10. d. Tur. et pro gentibus armorum et navigiis 212,164 lib. 13. f. 11. d. Tur. apud Acconem et Cæsaream ac Castellum.

‘ Dieta sine guerra, 154 lib. 10. f. 10. d. Tur. pro expensis per diem.

‘ Expensæ ejusdem hospitii pro anno finito ad ascens. 1253, 60,680 lib. 10. f. 10. d. Tur. et pro guerra seu gentib. armorum ac navigio, 270,547 lib. 15. f. 5. d. Tur. apud Joppem.

‘ Dieta sine guerra pro expensis per diem 166 lib. 4. f. 11. d. ob. Tur.

‘ Dictus S. Ludovicus expendit pro passagio ultra marino ab ascens. Dom. 1247, usque ad ascens. 1256, per 5. annos 1,537,570 lib. 13. f. 5. d. ob. Tur. et arripuit iter circa omnes sanctos 1248, et rediit an. 1254.

‘ Dom. Carolus comes Valesii pater regis Philippi de Valesio expedit. pro viagio Romaniae pro toto 115,960 lib. 19. f. Tur. fort. ab anno Domini 1302, usque ad annum 1313.

‘ Valor omnium terrarum Domini Vales. pro uno anno 24,000 lib. fort.

‘ Valor regni super Thesaur. 2,334,000 lib.

‘ Expensæ totales pro coronamento S. Ludovici mense Nov. 1223, 40,334 lib. 14. f. Parisi; captæ super regem per Compot. hospit. mense Nov.

‘ Expensæ totalis coronationis regis Philippi Audacis filii sui 12,931 lib. 8. f. id captum per compotum hospitii ad O. S. 1271.

‘ Expensæ totales pro coronatione reginæ consortis suæ 22,564 lib. 12. f. 5. d. prout in magna recepta ascens. 1275.

‘ Expensæ totius coronationis regis Philippi pulchri, 24,560 lib. 72. f. Par. captæ per templum ad candelos 1285, et pro militia sua 14,684 lib. 12. d. captæ in magna recepta omn. sanctorum 1284.

‘ Expensæ coronationis regis Ludov. filii sui 20,824 lib. 15. f. 2. d. ob. P. captæ per compot. hospitii ad Nativ. Dom. 1315.

‘ Expensæ hosp. regis S. Ludov. pro anno 1271. 111,688 lib. 14. f. 2. d. Par.

‘ Expensæ Hospitii reg. Philippi pulchri pro anno 1301, 267,888 lib. 14. f. 10. d.

* *Expenfæ*,—Hosp. Ludovici filii fui pro anno 1315, 209,771 lib. 16. f. 2. d.

Hosp. Philippi magni fratris dicti Ludov. 184,332 lib. 19. f. 11. d. pro uno anno.

Hosp. Karoli fratris fui

Hosp. Philippi de Valesio regis moderni pro anno 1329, 347,457 lib. 17. f. 6. d.*

(xv) *Light up, light up.* The French is 'Alume, alume.' The Poitiers edition has the same words, which mean to light the candle to see the compass, and the part whither they are failing. It is thus, I think, they must be understood. Hugh de Berry, who lived under the reign of saint Louis, in the description he gives, in his Bible Guyot, of the use of the compass in those times, says, that sailors in the dark nights, to avoid losing their route, lighted a candle to observe the needle every now and then.

' Quant la nuit est obscure et brune,

Qu'on ne voit estoile ne lune,

Lors font a l'aiguille allumer,

Puis ne peuvent-ils s'egarer.'

See Estienne Pasquier, in his 'Recherches sur la France,' l. 4. ch. 25.

With every deference to M. du Cange, I should rather interpret this cry of *Alume, alume!* as a signal of joy and illumination on the safe return of the count de Poitiers.

The chapter quoted in Pasquier refers to different diseases, and nothing to the above purport.—*Transf.*

(xvi) *Jacques du Chastel.* Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Châtillon, l. 11. ch. 6. and those who have drawn up the list of the bishops of Soissons, call him Guy, and make him son to Raoul, lord de Châteauporcean by Agnes de Bazoches.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 96. mentions him and his expedition to the holy land.

(xvii) *Nazac.* Edition of Poitiers, *Nazart.*

(xviii) *Tristan*. Guillaume Guiart sings,
 ‘ L’Enfant a très grande destrece,
 Et vout que nom li meist an
 Sans rapel nul Jean Tristan.’

This prince was alio furnamed ‘de Damiete,’ from the place of his birth. In the cartulary of the bishoprick of Paris, belonging to the late M. du Puy, there was as follows: A. 1266. ‘Joannes dictus de Damiete, filius illustrissimi regis D. Ludovici,’ &c.

(xix) *Playing at backgammon*. Among the orders laid down for the more regular discipline that was to be observed in these expeditions to the holy land, all playing with dice was strictly forbidden: ‘Statutum est etiam, ut nullus enormiter juret, et quod nullus ad aleas, vel ad decios ludat.’ In William de Neubourg, l. 3. ch. 23.

(xx) *Threw the tables into the sea*. After these words, the Poitiers-edition contains a whole chapter, which is wanting in the edition of Menard, in the following terms:

‘When we arrived before Acre, the citizens came out to meet the king as far as the shore with grand processions, and received him joyfully.

‘I attempted to mount the palfrey that had been brought for me from the town; but I was no sooner mounted than I fainted, and should have fallen to the ground had it not been for him who brought the horse, who held me tight, and with much difficulty I was led to the king’s house. I remained some time at a window without any one taking the least notice of me, and of all those whom I had brought to Egypt I had only with me a young boy, called Bartholomew, the bastard-son of the lord Amé de Montbelliar, lord of Montfaucon, of whom I have before spoken.

‘As I was there waiting, a youth came to me dressed in scarlet striped with yellow, and, having saluted me, asked if I did not know him. On my saying I did not, he told me he was a native of Chateau-Descler, that belonged to my uncle. He asked if I would take him into my service, for that he was without a master. This I readily agreed to, and retained him as my varlet. He soon after brought me clean coifes, and combed my hair exceedingly well.

At this time, the king sent for me to come to dinner : I went, attended by my new varlet, who carved before me, and found means to get a sufficiency for himself and the young boy.

‘ After the dinner, this varlet, whose name was Guillemin, obtained for me a lodging near the baths, that I might wash and clean myself from the filth I had gained in prison. Towards evening, he put me into a bath ; but I had no sooner entered it than I again fainted and fell backwards in the water, so that with much trouble they drew me out alive, and carried me to my chamber. You must know, that I had only a poor jacket for my dress, nor any money in my pocket to buy better clothing, or to support me in my illness. This affected me very much, and I suffered more from the extreme indigence I was in, than from the pains of my disorder.

‘ As I was in this distress, most fortunately a knight came to visit me, whose name was sir Peter de Bourbrainne, and seeing my miserable state, he comforted me to the best of his power, and caused cloth to be given me to new-dress myself, by a merchant of Acre, to whom he gave his own security for the due payment.

‘ At the end of three days, when I was somewhat better and stronger, I went to the king, who blamed me much for having been so long absent, and charged me, as I valued his love, not to fail partaking of his meals morning and evening, until he should determine to remain there, or return to France. While with the king, I complained to him of the lord Peter de Courcenay, who owed me four hundred livres of my pay, and refused to give it me ; and the king ordered the four hundred livres to be instantly paid me, to my great joy, for I did not possess a single farthing.

‘ When I had received my money, sir Peter de Bourbrainne advised me to keep only forty livres for my expenses, and to give the remainder to the governor of the palace of the Templars to keep for me, which I willingly did. Having spent the forty livres, I sent for as much more ; but this governor bade them tell me, that he had not any money of mine, and, what was worse, that he did not know me.

‘ On the receipt of this answer, I went to the master of the Templars, whose name was father Regnaut de Vichiers, to whom I carried intelligence

of the king, and then told him the treatment I had met with, and complained to him of the governor of the palace, for not restoring to me the money I had intrusted to his care. But I had no sooner ended, than he flew into a violent passion, and said,—‘ Lord de Joinville, I love you very much, but I shall cease doing so, if you hold such language, for it seems to be insinuated, by what you complain of, that our brotherhood are all thieves.’ I replied, that so far from being silent, I would make the matter public, for that I was in such want of my money I had not a penny to support me; and, without a word more, left him.

‘ I can assure you I was during four days in the utmost uneasiness about my money, and knew not to what saint to make my vows, to recover it. These four days I did nothing but run about, seeking means to regain it. On the fifth, the master of the Templars accosted me with a smile, and told me he had found my money, and instantly gave me the amount, to my great joy, as I was in very great need of it; and I took good care, in future, not to trouble these monks with the keeping of my cash.’

The above shews, that William de Sonnac, master of the Temple, died immediately after the battle of Massoura, and perhaps he was killed there, since Regnaud de Vichiers had succeeded him, when the king returned to the holy land, after his captivity. A deed in the cartulary of the church of Auxerre, of the year 1247, gives him the title of ‘ Domorum militiæ Templi in Francia magister.’

There are other deeds in the ‘ Tresor des Chartes,’ Laïette Champagne vi. titre 100, which style him Master of the Templars in the year 1255; and Sanuto, l. 3. part 12. ch. 5. says, that he followed the party of the Venetians in the war they had with the Genoese in the year 1257.

(XXI) *Count de Japhe.* John d’Ibelin the fifth. See note on a former part of this work.

(XXII) *William de Belmont.* I believe to be the same whose name appears in the cartulary of the bishoprick of Paris, wherein he is mentioned as doing homage to that see, in the year 1263, for his lordship of Pierre Fite.

(xxiii) *The prince of Antioch.* Boëmond V. prince of Antioch, and count of Tripoly, who died in the year 1261.

(xxiv) *Poulains.* The author of the life of Louis le gros, explains the force of this word in his 24th chapter, as follows: 'Pullani dicuntur, qui de patre Syriano et matre Francigena generantur.' To this must be referred what Sanuto says on the same subject, in l. 3. part. 8. ch. 2. 'Illustrium virorum qui ad terræ sanctæ tuitionem, perfectamque illius de jugo servitutis liberationem in ipsa manserunt, degeneres filii, qui ab illis descenderunt, ut rubigo de argento, amurca de oleo, fex de vino, possessionum illorum successores, non morum, pulani vocantur.'

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 67. speaks also of these Poulains, and says they were thus called because they were originally from la Puglia. 'Pullani dicuntur, qui post terræ sanctæ liberationem ex ea oriundi extiterunt: vel quia recentes, et quasi novi pulli, respectu surianorum reputati sunt: vel quia principaliter de gente Apuliæ matres secundum carnem habuerunt. Cum enim in occidentali principum exercitu paucas mulieres, respectu virorum, adduxissent nostri, qui in terra sancta remanserunt, de regno Apuliæ, eo quod proprius esset aliis regionibus, vocantes mulieres cum eis matrimonia contraxerunt.'

See the above author, chap. 72.

It is still probable, that Frenchmen gave this name to such as had sprung from these irregular connections, because they resembled young wild colts, that could not be caught: 'illustrium virorum degeneres filii,' as Sanuto writes.

The lord de Joinville says, the peasants of the holy land were so called, and that in his time the term was understood as a reproach; which is confirmed by these verses of the romance of Garin le Loherans:

' Quant li gloton lecheor de pulin
Ma terre gastent, mes homes m'ont oçis.'

And again,

' Dex, dit Fromond, con puis enragier vis,
Par trois garçons lecheor de pulin
Que l'Empereres me tient en si por vil.'

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin frequently uses this word to express contempt or abuse.

‘ Là peut-on voir le Sarazin pulant, &c.

Un autre chevalier à Henry le pulant, &c.

En un sac fu boutés rois Pietre le pulant, &c.’

The lord de Joinville speaks of a place in the holy land, called, Pâssépoulain,’ which has been probably so named from the Poulains.

During the time the French possessed the empire of Constantinople, they called Gasmoules (Γασμουλοι), those born from a french man and greek woman; or to quote the words of Pachymeres, in his MS. history, l. 4. ch. 25. διγενεις, και Ρωμαιων γυναικων γεννηθεντες τοις Ιταλοις.

I am persuaded our countrymen did not call them *Gasmoules*, but *Gastemoules*, by way of derision; as if such children by these irregular marriages, on account of the difference of nations, and even religions, had in some sort sullied and debased the womb of their mothers, which is the mould wherein children are formed.

Thus in Antioch, the issue of armenian or greek inhabitants of that town by turkish women were called *Turcati*. The Turks, a little before this place came into the possession of the French, having given wives of their nation to the inhabitants who were in want of them, as we are told by Raymond d’Agiles.

(xxv) *Recreant knight*,—That is to say, one who owned himself conquered, for that is the meaning of the word *recreu*, which is taken from the usage of duelling. When one of the combatants was overpowered by his adversary, and confessed himself unable to continue the fight longer, he owned that he was *recreant* or *recreu*; that is, that he was exhausted, and could do no more, and confessed himself vanquished.

In those parts of the MS. assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem which speak of ‘wager of battle,’ the appellant or defendant is introduced as saying these words before the judge of the field: ‘I am ready to prove it by my body against his body, and to fight until death, or till I own myself recreant any hour of the day, and here is my glove,’ &c.

The MS. customs of the city of Amiens speak thus of the champion :
 ‘ And he shall take the defendant by the right hand, and, raising it up, declare that he will hold himself disloyal and perjured, if he will not, any hour of the day, put him to death, or make him confess himself recreant with the arms he has now on, and by opposing his body against his.’

The same affizes say, chapter 94. on the subject of trial for the cause of murder : ‘ The judges of the field must attend, and be as near the combatants as possible, that if one of them should utter the word *recreant*, he may be heard, and, in that case, the moment it shall be heard, they will order his adversary to cease, and say that he has done enough. They will then take the body of the vanquished, and give it up to the pleasure of the lord, who will order it to be dragged thence to the gallows, and hanged by the neck. The same will be done to him that shall be slain in the duel, although he may not have said the word *recreant*.’

So that the lord de Joinville, on this occasion, returned abuse for abuse, and, as they called him ‘ Poulain,’ he retorted on these knights ‘ recreant knights,’ that is to say, cowards and base.

In the same affizes, ch. 190. ‘ And should any man have given a blow, who shall be known for base, recreant, cowardly, or that shall have a hump on his back,’ &c.

Robert de Bourron, in his MS. romance of Merlin : ‘ For after that I should have acknowledged my recreantism, I could never enjoy any honour ; and certainly I would rather die a hundred times, if it were possible to die so often, than at any time say or do what may be construed into recreantism.’

The charter of the commonalty of Amiens, of the year 1209 : ‘ Qui juratum suum receditum, traditorem willot,’ that is a blow, ‘ appellaverit, 20. fol. perfolvet.’

(xxvi) *The fault shall not be mine.* The editor of the Poitiers edition thus explains this passage : ‘ And I will not spare any treasures in recompensing the merits of those who shall do their duty, no not even to the disposing of my cup out of which I drink, for it shall be yours, and not mine.’ But I think he is mistaken, for *coupe*, in this place, means treasure,

from the custom, that, when in those times, princes wished to make presents to their subjects, they had fums of money, in gold and silver coins, brought them in cups, which they distributed among them, after the heralds had proclaimed *largeffe*.

Such presents were commonly made at the great feasts, when kings held their *cours plenières*, as they were called, though some style them *cours couronnées*, because they appeared at them with their crowns on their heads, and in royal robes. This usage of *largeffe* is described at length by a herald, who lived under the reign of Henry VI. of England, in a manuscript treatise in the college of heralds, and by Thomas Mills, in his book de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, pp. 59, 72, 109. from which we learn that the french word *largeffe* is now used in England when such proclamations are made.

The ‘Ceremonial de France,’ to. 2. p. 742, says, ‘that at the interview of the kings of France and England, near Guines, in 1520, during the feast, *largeffe* was cried by the king at arms and heralds, holding a large and very rich pot of gold.’ These cups, or pots, were called by the more vulgar name of *hanaps*. An old french poet, quoted by Fauchet, l. 2. ch. 14. has,

‘N’en vol prendre cheval, ne la mule afeltrée,
Peliçon, vair ne gris, mantel, chape fourrée,
Ne de buens Parisis une grant *henepée*.’

Fauchet has explained this word wrong, by calling it a *handful*, for *henepée*, in this place, means a *hanap* full of deniers parisis. And thence is derived the name of *hanaper office*, forming part of the royal exchequer in England, as Spelman has observed in his glossary; not that this word signifies a sort of basket, in which, according to him, money was put, but because the royal treasures were distributed by *hanepées*, and in cups, when the king was inclined to be generous.

A deed of Richard II. in the Monastic. Anglic. to. 1. p. 943 : ‘Rex, &c. cum de gratia nostra speciali, et pro quodam fine quem Elizabeth, quæ fuit uxor ——— nobis solvit in Hanaperio nostro, concessimus,’ &c.

And in the 2d vol. page 2. a deed of Henry IV. ‘De gratia tamen nostra speciali, et pro centum marcis quas prior et conventus ——— nobis solverunt in Hanaperio nostro, concessimus,’ &c.

(xxvii) *Pierre Chambellan.* Peter de Nemours, or de Ville-Beor, chamberlain of France, under the reign of St Louis, whom he accompanied in his expedition to Tunis, and died there. He was buried at the king's feet, in the abbey of St Denis.

See William de Nangis, and the history of the house of Dreux, p. 135.

(xxviii) *The whole amounts to twelve hundred livres.* To make this calculation, we must presuppose that the pay of knights-bannerets was of two sorts, the ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary pay was only twenty sols tournois per day, the extraordinary thirty. This is seen from the accounts of the treasurers of the king's wars, which are in the chamber of accounts at Paris. So that to make up the sum of 1200 livres for eight months service, or two-thirds of the year, the three knights-bannerets must have each received the extraordinary pay, and for which the lord de Joinville engaged to give them 400 livres each, at the rate of thirty sols per day, which makes for the three knights the sum of 1200 livres. I shall speak more fully, as to the pay of knights, in my eleventh dissertation.

(xxix) *The sultan of Damascus.* His name was Salah. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. c. 102, and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 15. part. 12. c. 1.

(xxx) *The old man of the mountain.* All the writers on the holy wars agree, that the old man of the mountain, who is called 'Vetulus,' or 'Senex de Montanis,' ruled over the Affassins, who inhabited, as I have elsewhere remarked, the mountains of Phœnicia, whence he was called Prince of the Mountains. The lord de Joinville confounds the Bedouins, in this place, with the Affassins.

Arnold de Lubeck, l. 7. ch. 10. speaks thus of them: 'In terminis Damasci, Antiochiæ et Alapiæ, est quoddam genus Saracenorum in montanis, quod eorum lingua vulgari Heiffesim vocatur.' And further on, 'In montibus habitant et sunt quasi impugnabiles quia in munitissimis castris recipiuntur,' &c. He then describes the palace, and the behaviour of this prince, which is conformable to what the lord de Joinville and the

greater part of those who have written on the holy wars relate. Among others,

William of Tyre, l. 14. c. 19. l. 20. ch. 21.

Matthew Paris, in the year 1150.

William de Neubourg, l. 4. c. 24. l. 5. ch. 16.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. c. 13 & 14. l. 3. p. 1126.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 93.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 14. ch. 2.

It is from these authors, that the person who composed the MS. 'Traité de la Terre d'Outremer,' has drawn all he has written of the Assassins and their prince, in these terms :

' In the lands near Damascus and Antioch, live a sort of Saracens called by some 'Hauffaffis,' by others 'the people of the old man of the mountain.' These people live a lawless life, and eat pork, contrary to the religion of the Saracens, and lie with every woman they meet, whether mothers or sisters. They inhabit great towers, which they have built among the mountains. The country is full of wild beasts, on which they live. Their prince is very cruel, and very different from other Saracens and Christians, for he is accustomed to put many to death without reason. He has several fine and strong palaces, surrounded by high walls, and he has them very well guarded, so that no one can enter them but at one gate. In these palaces, he confines the children of his subjects, and none of these youths appear before him, unless so ordered by their masters, who teach them various languages and other things: they must obey the commands of the prince, believing that through him alone, they can obtain paradise, and not otherwise. When once confined, they are never to come into his presence without his permission, and when he asks them if they be willing to obey his orders in hopes of gaining paradise, they make him such answers as their masters have taught them. The prince then gives them a large and sharp knife, and sends them whither he lists to assassinate those he hates; and know, that they will, if possible, execute this commission, whatever may happen to them in life or death.'

With regard to the name of these people, Arnold of Lubeck writes, that they are called, in their language, *Heiffesin*. William of Tyre, speaking of

them, says, ‘Hos tam nostri, quam Saraceni (nescimus unde deducto nomine) Affiffinos vocant.’ The Jew Benjamin calls them *Hafsifim*, from a word that is something like that of *χασοοτοι*, which John Phocas gives them in his description of the holy land, ch. 3. and this is not very different from the name of *χα5οι*, by which Anna Comnena, in the sixth book of her *Alexiade*, p. 178. and Nicetas, in his lives of the emperor Isaac, l. 1. n. 1. and of Alexis, l. 3. n. 6. distinguishes these people.

However, from these different appellations have been formed that of ‘Hanfesifii,’ in William de Neubourg; of ‘Affidei,’ in the monk of Saint Narian of Auxerre, p. 93; of ‘Accini,’ and ‘Alfafi,’ in Roger Hoveden, pp. 716, 751; of ‘Arfarcidæ’ in Rigord, and of ‘Hakefins’ in Philip Mouskes.

(xxx1) *In another body.* They had borrowed from the Arabians the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See the hist. of the Arabians by Abraham Ecchellenfis, l. 1. ch. 17.

(xxx11) *A small book.* This prince had, in this respect, followed the example of his predecessors, who had made themselves acquainted with the mysteries of our religion, by reading the evangelists and epistles of St Paul. See William of Tyre, l. 20. c. 21. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 6. ch. 23.

(xxx111) *The bones of the count de Brienne,*—whose death is afterward related.

(xxx1v) *Madame de Secte, or de Sajette,* for he is speaking of Margaret, princess of Sidon, or Sajette, wife to Balian, prince of Sajette, and whom the ‘Lignage d’Outremer,’ ch. 8. makes niece to John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem. This is conformable to our author, who says she was cousin german to Walter, count de Brienne, nephew to John, and son to Walter count de Brienne, his elder brother, whence we may suppose, that she was daughter to William de Brienne, brother to Walter count de Brienne, and to king John of Jerusalem, who, according to Vigner, in his history of Luxembourg, deceased about the year 1200, leaving children; but, as he

does not name them, this princess may have been one of them. But there are reasons to doubt that William left issue, seeing that his brother, count Walter, styled himself his heir in that year.

With regard to the name of Sagitta, which is commonly given to the town of Sidon, it is to be met with in Albert of Aix, l. 5. ch. 40. l. 10. ch. 3. and in other authors, whence some have made 'Sajette' in French, and the lord de Joinville 'Secte,' which is the word used by the french writers of the middle ages, to signify an arrow. Among others, Littleton in chap. 9. sect. 159.

(xxxv) *Of the coins of Madame de Secte.* Of the number of the great barons of the kingdom of Jerufalem, who, among other rights, had that of coining money, was the lord de Sajette. In the assizes of that kingdom, 'Lords de Sajette and de Beaufort have the privileges of holding a court, with that of coinage, of executing justice, and that of Sajette of holding courts of burghers and of justice.'

(xxxvi) *Ragged and ill-dressed.* The editor of the edition of Poitiers has changed this word *deserpillez* into *deschirez*. In the 'Coûtume d'Anjou,' art. 44. and in that of Maine, art. 51. the *deserpilleurs* and *desrobeurs* are synonymous. In effect, the ancient 'Coûtume d'Anjou' describes *efferpillurie* as a sort of theft. 'When any thing is taken from a man by night, or by day, on the high-way, or in woods, such theft is called *efferpillurie*.'

The establishments of St Louis, which were to the same effect, have *escharpelerie*. So that, in this place, *deserpillé* means a person from whom his clothes had been taken. This word may be derived from *farpe*, with which gardeners cut off branches of trees, or rather from *escharpe*, *escharpillerie*, being a theft of the *escharpe*; that is to say, of the dress. M. Menage gives his opinion on the derivation of this word, in his 'Origines de la Langue Françoisse,' p. 789.

(xxxvii) *En son état,—of expense.*

(xxxviii) *On the walls of Quaffere.* The Poitiers-edition has *Quahere*, and the lord de Joinville gives us to understand, further on, that he means the town of Cairo. The eastern chronicle also informs us, that the heads of those slain at the battle of Maffoura, were brought to Cairo, and affixed to the points of lances, on the gate of Zuaila, which is a suburb of Cairo, as we learn from John Leo's description of Africa, l. 8.

(xxxix) *The great king of Tartary.* This passage of the lord de Joinville should be compared with what the bishop of Tusculum writes, in his epistle to PP. Innocent IV. tom. 7. Spicileg. p. 222.

William de Nangis' life of St Louis in the year 1248.

Thomas de Cantimprè, l. 2. de Apib. ch. 54. n. 14.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 13. ch. 3 & 4.

Aython, ch. 17. 24, 25.

Vincent de Beauvais, &c.—where ample mention is made of the origin of the Tartars, of the victories they gained over Prester John, and the Persians.

(xl) *Two notable preaching friars.* The bishop of Tusculum names three.

(xli) *Berie.* A flat country. Sanuto, l. 2. part. 4. c. 28. 'in quo habitant Arabes, qui Bedwini vocantur, in beria continue habitantes, seu in locis campestribus, sub tentoriis mansiones suas omni tempore facientes.'

Spelman has thought that the word 'beria,' or 'de berry,' which is found at the termination of the names of some towns in England, signified 'a burgh;' but it is more probable they were thus called from their being built on extensive plains. Matthew Paris speaks in the year 1174 of the berry of St Edmund, 'beria S. Edmundi,' which is nothing more than the plain belonging to the monastery of St Edmund.

(xlii) *Gog and Magog.* In the list of the Aijubite Caliphs, in the eastern chronicle, it is said, that these people of Gog and Magog inhabited

the country adjoining China: 'anno 613 fuit irruptia Tartarorum, qui colebant planitiem finarum contermimam, quæ dicitur Hagin-Magin.'

Paul the Venetian, l. 1. ch. 64. 'Sunt etiam ibi regiones Gog et Magog, quas illi nominant Lug et Mungug.'

Arius Montanus and Anathasius Kircher 'in prodromo coptico,' c. 4. say, that these people of Gog and Magog, mentioned in the Bible, and in the Sibylline verses, are those of Catay, that join China.

See also Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 34.

La Geographie Arabe, part. 9. Climat. 7.

Gallia Christ. in Episc. Parif. n. 63.

And the other writers cited by the learned Gaffarel on the rabbi Elcha-ben-David, 'de fine mundi,' § 30.

(XLIII) *Prefter John*. It was an ancient error, now no longer believed, that the empire of Prefter John, was the kingdom of the Abyssinians in Africa. This passage alone of the lord de Joinville is sufficient to destroy it; for it shews plainly that the kingdom of Prefter John was in Asia, and meant the empire of India. This is confirmed in an epistle of the PP. Alexander III. which is to be found in Raoul de Dicetus, Matthew Paris and Brompton in the years 1180 and 1181; and by another letter from a prior of the order of preaching friars in Matthew Paris likewise, at the year 1237, page 301.

William of Tripoly, in Gerard Mercator, relates, that at the time of the capture of Antioch by the French in the year 1098, Coirem Cham was lord or king of the eastern parts of Asia. After his death, a certain nestorian priest seized the kingdom, and was called Priest John. Albericus, in the year 1145, has fully spoken of him, and said that it was believed he was of the race of Magi mentioned in the Scriptures. He may, however, have advanced this opinion, from what he had read, that he governed the country called in the Scriptures Gog and Magog. In the year 1165, he says, that this prince sent ambassadors to the emperors of Germany, Manuel and Frederick. He speaks of him again in the year 1170. His brother, Wth Cham, succeeded him, but was defeated by Genghis, cham or king of the

Tartars, prior to the year 1200, as Paolo Veneto tells us, in l. 1. chapters 51 & 52.

This king of India, according to Vincent de Beauvais, l. 30. ch. 69 & 87. l. 32. ch. 10 & 93. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13. ch. 4. was called David, and the son of Prester John. Albericus notices him in the years 1220 & 1222. The same author, in 1197, and Paolo Veneto, l. 3. ch. 74. add, that the Tartars having subdued the kingdom of India, and killed the king, established another, who was of the race of Prester John, and made him tributary to them. See the above Paolo, l. 2. chap. 30 & 32.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 3. ch. 92, 93. says, positively, that this king was a Christian, and adds, that Ghengis Cham married his daughter, which last part is confirmed by Thomas de Cantimprè and Sanuto. Our ancient heralds even go so far as to give for arms, to Prester John, a shield or, with a crucifix azur, having on each side two thongs of the same.

There are some writers who do not agree that this prince, who was the origin of, and gave his name to these kings of India, was a priest: and they suppose the error to have arisen from his being called in the persian language *prestegiani*, which means in Latin *apostolicus*, or a Christian orthodox king, and that in this quality he had a cross borne before him, like the archbishops and primates, to shew his people that he was the protector and defender of the Christian religion. This is the opinion of Joseph Scaliger, in lib. 7. de emendat. Tempor. and of some others. But it is not very certain what were the provinces of Asia which these princes possessed, whose dominions were so extensive, that it was said the first Prester John subjugated and rendered tributary seventy-two kings.

Father Kircher supposes that he ruled over the vast countries of Catay, and informs us, that the first person who introduced this error, of the name of Prester John, which is given to the king of the Abyssinians, was Peter Couillon, who was sent as ambassador to this king by John II. king of Portugal, who having learnt that Prester John was a most powerful Christian prince, believed the king of Abyssinia was likewise so called, because he was equally a powerful prince, and made profession of following the Christian religion.

(XLIV) *Brought him an arrow.* The lord de Joinville has made a mistake by attributing to the Tartars the election of their king by the number of arrows. This circumstance is told of the Turks and Turcomans by William of Tyre, who lived before the name of Tartars was heard of, in the first book and seventh chapter, and by Albericus in the year 1059, when they possessed themselves of the lands of the king of Persia.

(XLV) *A wonderful thing.* Thomas de Cantinprè, l. 2. ch. 54. n. 14. relates this event likewise.

(XLVI) *Elenars de Seninguan.* The Poitiers edition calls him 'Clenard de Semingam.'

(XLVII) *Norone.* It is *Nerone* in the edition of Poitiers. I do not recollect to have ever read any thing of this kingdom.

(XLVIII) *In the chase of lions.* Oppian, in the fourth book de *Cynegeticoi*, relates the various manners of lion-hunting, but does not mention this.

(XLIX) *Of those of Coucy.* It must be read *Toucy*, as I have remarked in the history of Constantinople, l. 5. n. 2. for this passage is meant to speak of Philip de Toucy, governor, or regent of the empire of Constantinople during the absence of Baldwin II. This lord was son of Narjot de Toucy, who enjoyed the same dignity, by a daughter of Theodore Branas, or Vranas, a powerful greek lord, who had married Agnes, sister to king Philip Augustus, when widow of the emperor Andronicus.

In the 'Trésor des Chartes du Roi, *Laiette Mutua ultramarina*,' n. 13. is an acknowledgement of Philip de Toucy, regent of the empire of Constantinople, to the king St Louis, for the sum of five hundred livres tournois, for which he had made himself responsible to a merchant of Valenciennes, dated at the camp before Cæsarea, July 1251, which agrees with the circumstance noticed by the lord de Joinville.

He is also mentioned with the title of regent, in a roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'Debita et bosci inter ascensionem et omnes SS. A. 1252.' Under the bailiwick of Sens, 'Pro dom. Philippo de Touciaco Bajulo imperii Constantinopolitani, pro eodem debito 500 lib. ad omnes sanctos.' Albericus confirms, in several places, not only the marriage of Branas with Agnes, which is noticed also by Geoffry de Villehardouin, but adds, that from this union there were born, among other children, a daughter married to Narjot de Toucy, who had a daughter married to William de Villehardouin, brother to Geoffry prince of Achaia.

In the year 1236, 'Frater ejus Gulielmus, qui custodit terram suam, habet filiam Nargaldi, natam de filia Li-Vernas, et sororis regis Franciæ.'

In the year 1239, 'Uxor hujus Nargaldi fuit filia Li-Vernas, Græci potentissimi, de illa imperatrice quæ fuit soror Philippi regis Francorum.'

In the year 1241, he tells us, he was cousin to Guy de Dampierre, that he was married a second time to the daughter of Jonas king of the Comains, and died the same year. 'Filiam vero regis Jonæ, qui videbatur esse major in regibus Comanorum, duxerat dominus Nargaldus Balivus, qui Nargaldus hoc anno decessit, et prædicta uxor ejus facta est monialis.'

It is probable that Anceau de Toucy, whom Acropolitus mentions in his eighty-first chapter, was also his son. Narjot de Toucy is noticed in several deeds of the years 1174, 1182, 1191, father, as I presume, of him we are speaking of. However that may be, he was of the family of Toucy in Auxerrois, whose genealogy is drawn out in the 10th book of the history of the house of Châtillon, but this branch is omitted, which seems to take its origin from Narjot de Toucy, who, with his brother Hugh, gave to the abbey of Molême some heritages, by a deed completed at the castle of Toucy, during the bishoprick of Humbaude, bishop of Auxerre, that is to say, about the year 1100, with the consent of Ermengarde, his wife, and his daughter Beatrice.

Narjot, having intentions to make a journey to Jerusalem, confirms this donation by another deed, in which he speaks of his brothers Hugh and Itier, of his wife Ermengarde, of his son Itier, of his daughter Adelvie, and of other children, but who are not named. The lords de Toucy have

always particularly signalized themselves in the holy wars. Itier, the first of the name, accompanied king Louis le jeune to the holy land in the year 1147, according to the testimony of Suger, ch. 111.

Itier III. and his brother Anseric, from whom the lords de Baferne are issue, were there in the year 1216, as we learn from the chronicle of Saint Marian d'Auxerre, which also enables us to correct Jacques de Vitry, page 1134, where he puts down the death of Itier, as happening at Damietta in the year 1218, or the printer has made a mistake, by printing Iterius de Tucci, instead of Toci or Touci.

(L.) *The king of the Comains.* Jonas, who had married his daughter to Narjot de Toucy, and whose death is recorded by Albericus in the year 1241. 'Mortuus est hoc anno rex Jonas prædictus nondum baptisatus, et id circo sepultus est extra muros civitatis in altissimo tumulo, et octo armigeri appensi sunt vivi a dextris et a sinistris, et ita voluntarie mortui, et 26. equi vivi similiter ibi fuerunt appensi.'

The kingdom of Comania is mentioned by Aython, chap. 5. and other writers, whom I have quoted in my observations on the history of Villehardouin. Claude Menard is mistaken in supposing William le Breton to mean the king of the Comains in the tenth book of his Philippiade, when he writes that Peter emperor of Constantinople was taken prisoner, *a principe Comaniorum*; for by these words he understands the duke of Duras, of the family of the Comnenes, and it ought to be corrected to *a principe Comeniorum*.

(LI) *Vataiehe.* John Duras, surnamed *Vatatzes*, who held the empire of the Greeks in Asia, and was at war with Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople. In a deed of the year 1243, he is named *Vastachius*. In Thierry de Vaucouleurs *Vacacius*. In an epistle of the pope Innocent IV. which may be found in Waddingue, in the year 1247, *Vatacius*, and in Vincent de Beauvais, l. 1. ch. 143, 144. *Vatachius*.

(LII) *In sign. of brotherhood.* This passage will furnish me with an opportunity of discoursing on a subject hitherto not treated of, namely, on

brotherly adoptions. It is curious, uncommon, and but little known, as may be seen in the twenty-first dissertation. In the succeeding one, I shall treat of honourable adoptions of sons.

(LIII) *They made a dog pass.* The Comains borrowed this ceremony from the Slavonians, among whom it was practised. ‘Litteræ Juvanensis archiepiscopi editæ a Gewoldo post chronicon Reichesperg. Quod nos præfati Schlavi criminabantur cum Ungaris fidem catholicam violasse, et per canem, feu lapum (forte lupum) aliasque nefandissimas et ethnicas res sacramenta et pacem egisse.’

(LIV) *To whom they gave the choice.* The romance of Garin uses the word *partis* in the same manner :

‘Manuélement nos est li jeus partis.’

The Ordene de Chevalerie by Hugh de Tabarie :

‘Li princes Hues respondi,
Puisque m’avés le giu parti,
Je prendrai donc le raiembre,
Se j’ai de quoi, jel puisse rendre.’

Raoul de Houdanc, in the romance of Meraugis the Portuguese :

‘Un giu vous part, que volés faire,
Se volés miex tançer que taire.’

See Fauchet, l. 2. on the french poets, ch. 107.

Matthew of Westminster relates, in the year 1253, another instance of the severity of St Louis in the punishment of knights found guilty of crimes. He tells us, that the king having ordered a knight to be hanged, the father was so outrageous at it that he retired to the Saracens, and, changing his religion, embraced that of Mahomet.

(LV) *According to the customary right.* There is not any mention made of this custom in the MS. Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, nor of the punishment hereafter related, as inflicted on a sergeant for having abused a knight.

(LVI) *One karet.* The Poitiers-edition has *käfel*. *Carret*, in this place, seems to mean an inclosed field of a square form, in which corn was sown; in like manner as in Anjou *closeries* are portions of land, or vineyards inclosed by hedges.

A deed of Maurice bishop of Paris, in the year 1104, in the cartulary of the abbey of St Victor: 'Robertus de Chala dedit 5 fol. super cameras, quas habebat retro domum suam, quæ est in carreto Alrici.' This word is met with in the Bibliothèque de Cluny, p. 1515, but I do not believe it is used there in this sense.

(LVII) *The count de Den.* The edition of Poitiers has the same word; but without doubt it ought to have been the count d'Eu. This passage cannot allude to Raoul d'Iffoudun, second of the name, count d'Eu, who, in 1241, had been twice married, nor to Alphonso de Brienne, his son-in-law and successor, since Matthew Paris and other writers assert, that he and his brother John were of age when their father died, that is to say, in the year 1237.

Geoffrey archdeacon of Toledo, in confirmation of this, says, 'in appendice ad hist. Roder. Tolet.' that these two brothers received the order of knighthood from Alphonso the wise, king of Castile. This count d'Eu then, whom the lord de Joinville calls 'un jeune jouvencel,' when he was knighted by the king St Louis about the year 1252, must have been John, son to Alphonso by Mary countess of Eu, who was daughter to Raoul II. and to Jolande de Dreux, his second wife; and to this the circumstance of the period seems to agree. Jolande died, according to Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Dreux, p. 66. prior to the year 1240. There is besides reason to believe that Jeanne de Bourgogne, first wife to Raoul, dying shortly after her marriage, which took place in 1222, as the MS. chronicle of the counts d'Eu informs us, he espoused Jolande immediately afterward.

Thus we may presume, that their daughter Mary married Alphonso de Brienne during the lifetime of her father; for in a deed of the year 1249, in the cartulary of Champagne, kept in the chamber of accounts in Paris, fol. 279. he styles himself count d'Eu, in these terms: 'Alfonfus filius bonæ memoriæ Joannis quondam imperatoris Constantinopolitani, comes Augi.'

From whence it follows, that Alphonso was count of Eu in this year 1249. And this passage of the lord de Joinville not being applicable to him, as I have remarked, it must be meant for his son John, who, during the life of his father, who did not die before the year 1270, took the title of count d'Eu. The inheritance of this county having fallen to him by the decease of his mother, who probably died before the year 1252. See the hist. of the house of Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 8.

(LVIII) *Arnold de Guymene.* The edition of Poitiers has the same word; but it must be changed to that of *Guynes*, for he is speaking of Arnold, youngest son to Arnold II. count de Guynes, by Beatrice de Bourbourg.

(LIX) *His two brothers.* Robert and Henry. See A. du Chesne in his hist. of the counts de Guines, book 5. ch. 1.

(LX) *The prince of Antioch.* Boemond VI. prince of Antioch, and count of Tripoly, son to the prince Boemond V. by Lucy, whom the Lignage d'Outremer styles daughter to the count Paul of Rome, and who, Sanuto says, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 14. was sister to the bishop of Tripoly. The same author relates, in the fourth and fifth chapters, that this young prince received the order of knighthood from the king, St Louis, one year after the death of his father.

(LXI) *For four years to come.* Whence it may be inferred, that in the principality of Antioch, at least in regard to princes, the same custom was followed that was universal through France, which fixed the age of majority, and the period judged proper for the uncontrolled management of estates, and the holding of fiefs, at twenty-one years. Elsewhere, according to the Assizes of Jerusalem, the age of majority for males was fifteen years, and for females twelve years complete. Neither could hold fiefs until they had attained these years, and during their minority their guardian or tutor managed their estates.

In the 167th chapter, 'Should a fief fall to an infant, who is a minor, when he is of the age of fifteen years, if he wish to take possession, he must

appear in the court of his lord, and say, ‘Sire, I am fifteen years old or upwards,’ &c. And when he has proved his age, he may enter upon his fief as often as he may please without let or hindrance from any one in the bailiwick, after he shall have made proof of his being of majority. Should he not be a knight when he proves his age, he will, if wife, say after this act, ‘Sire, allow me a reasonable time before you make me a knight, that I may do you some fuitable service, as in duty bound from my fief.’

They then add, that the lord ought to give him a respite of forty days before he dub him a knight, after which he is bound to receive his homage. This is again repeated, when the proper age for majority is spoken of in chapters 170 and 190.

(LXII) *He quartered his arms.* It is not probable that the young prince of Antioch would quarter the arms of France of his own authority, but that he had obtained from the king this honour, which was not unusual in those days, as I shall prove in my 23d dissertation.

(LXIII) *Which are vermilion.* Our heralds give for arms to the family of the Boëmonds, and to this branch of the kings of Sicily, a shield gules with a bend chequered argent and two arrows azur. See Favyn’s *Theatre d’Honneur*. Albert d’Aix says in book 4. ch. 23. that the standard which Boëmond, first prince of Antioch, displayed in the holy wars, was vermilion. ‘Signum nempe Boëmundi, quod sanguinei erat coloris.’

The seal of this prince, Boëmond VI. which is affixed to a charter of the year 1262, in the Trésor des Chartes des Hospitaliers de Manosque, in Provence, represents a cross fichée on the shield; which shews, that his arms were not gules simply, without any additions, as may be supposed from the terms used by the lord de Joinville.

(LXIV) *The count de Japhe.* Vigner doubts if this count Walter be the son of William, brother to king John, or son to Walter count de Brienne, who died at the conquest of Naples. But Sanuto, l. 3. part. 12. chap. 1. says positively that he was count de Brienne, and posthumous son to Walter third of the name, count de Brienne, by Alberica, daughter to Tancred, king

of Sicily. He adds, in part 11. ch. 4. that during his minority, and when he resided in la Puglia, his uncle, John de Brienne, was his guardian, and held the county of Brienne in trust for him; on which account, and by the custom of France universally followed, he, like other guardians, took the titles of the lordships belonging to his ward, and called himself count de Brienne. He is so styled in some deeds of the year 1209, in a cartulary of Champagne in the possession of M. de Thou, and also in others, respecting the priory of Foicy, in Champagne, of the year 1210. He held this county, and managed the estates and lordships of his nephew, until he was advanced in age, and appointed in his name governors of the county of Brienne, during the time he was in the holy land, as king of Jerufalem; among whom, in the deeds, appears Jacques de Durnay, knight of Champagne, who there takes the title of ‘Comitatus Brenensis, procurator pro D. rege Hieros: comite Brenæ.’

Although he might have had this wardship until his nephew was twenty-one years of age, according to the general custom of France, he surrendered it to him before that time, as we are informed by a letter which he wrote in the month of April 1221, to Blanche countess of Champagne, and to her son Thibaud, by which he entreated them to put his nephew Walter, son to the count Walter who went into Champagne, in possession of the county of Brienne, and not to retain it in their hands, under pretence that he, as guardian, had done homage for it, and that his nephew was as yet a minor, his intention being that he should have full possession of that county.

In the month of November of the following year, the young count did homage liege to the count de Champagne, for the lands of Oignon and Luyeres, which the king of Jerufalem had given him; on this condition, however, that he should not have the power of disposing of them; so that he became vassal liege to the count, although he was so before for the county of Brienne, as the title-deeds shew.

When possessed of these lands and lordships, he crossed the sea to the holy land, where he held the county of Japhe, and signalized himself very frequently by his valorous actions against the Saracens. They at last made him prisoner, and put him to a most cruel death, thus making him suffer

martyrdom. Sanuto relates his capture in the year 1244, and Matthew Paris his death in 1251, which may incline us to believe, that he was kept prisoner until that time; but this I shall reserve for discussion in my families of the east. He married Mary, daughter to Hugh, king of Cyprus, by whom he had three sons, John, who continued the race of counts de Brienne, Hugh and Aymery.

(LXV) *Barbaquan*. The lord de Joinville in this and other passages says, that Barbaquan was emperor of Persia, who, on being driven by the prince of the Tartars from his kingdom, came to the holy land, where he committed many ravages. Sanuto, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 30. ch. 88. relating this event of the year 1244, say, that when Saleh Nagen-Addin, sultan of Babylon, was before Gaza, about twenty thousand Persians, who had been expelled from Persia, arrived at his camp, and united themselves to him, after having laid waste the countries of Tripoly and Jerusalem, in the last of which they had slaughtered five thousand men. They add, that when these Persians, after the defeat of the sultans of Damascus and la Chamelle, proposed making an irruption into Egypt, the sultan of Babylon stopped their march, and that when thus separated and scattered from each other, they were defeated by the peasants.

With regard to this Barbaquan, whom the lord de Joinville styles Emperor of Persia, I cannot find him named in any author; and I imagine; that as there was in Persia, beside the caliph, a sultan, who had the superintendence of the armies, and the management of public affairs, that of religion being intrusted to the caliph, this Barbaquan may have been the sultan. For the caliph, who was killed by Haolo, brother to Mango, grand cham of the Tartars, was called, according to the oriental chronicle, Almostaafami Billa. There still remains a difficulty, as to the year in which the Tartars conquered Persia or Chorazan, for, according to the lord de Joinville, it should seem to have been before St Louis was returned from the holy land, since he received the news of it when there. Paolo Veneto sustains the capture of Baldach, and of the caliph, as happening in the year 1250, but Aythou, ch. 25. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13 ch. 7. formally say

that it was in the year 1258, in which the eastern chronicle agrees, and that it was in the 655th or 656th years of the hegira, which, according to Leo, in his description of Africa, book 3. answers to the year of our Lord 1258. This being the case, we must conclude, that the sultan was driven from Persia before the caliph.

(LXVI) *Heude de Montbeliard*. Eudes de Montbeliard was son to Walter de Montbeliard, regent or guardian of the kingdom of Cyprus, and who held the principality of Tabarie, in right of Elchiva his wife, daughter to Raoul, and grand-daughter to William de Bures, prince of Tabarie.

See my 'families of the east.'

(LXVII) *Sultan of Babylon*. Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 15. part. 12. ch. 1. calls him 'Salah;' and the eastern chronicle, as I have before observed, 'Saleh Nagem-Addin.'

(LXVIII) *The sultan of la Chamele*. I have before said, that the sultan of la Chamele was the same as the sultan of Aleppo and of Haman. This is what Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 95. says in express terms. With regard to la Chamele, it is a town called by the ancients *Emiffa* or *Emesa*.

See William of Tyre, l. 7. ch. 12. l. 21. ch. 6. Albert d'Aix, and the other writers whom I have quoted in my historical treatise on the head of St John the Baptist, ch. 7. notes 3 and 4. But others maintain, that it was the town called *Gamala* by geographers. See the Threlor. Geogr. d'Ortelius..

(LXIX) *The bishop of Rainnes*. We must read 'bishop of Rama,' or 'Raima,' which is the name of a celebrated episcopal town in Palestine, whose bishop is frequently styled 'of Lydda,' because after the destruction of Rama, the episcopal seat was transferred to Lydda.

The History of the true Crois, which is preserved in the abbey of Grammont, often mentions the name of Bernard Moine de Deois, bishop of Rama and of Lydda, who brought it from the holy land. But although

this matter does not concern the reign of St Louis, I shall take this opportunity of publishing my conjectures * in the 24th dissertation, on the circumstances attending the translation of this precious relic, and which is no small ornament to France.

(LXX) *At Gadres.* A town situated in the country of Decapolis, called by the latin authors ‘Gadara.’ See W. of Tyre, l. 16. ch. 13.

(LXXI) *Lord d’Arfur.* ‘Assur,’ or ‘Arfuf, Arfopha and Arfupha,’ in the eastern chronicle; and in the history of the Arabians by Georges El-macin, p. 364. is a maritime town near Jaffa, called by the ancients ‘Antipatris,’ which was then in the possession of the family of Ibelin.

John d’Ibelin, lord of Baruth, who had espoused the heiress of it, named Melissent, was father (among other children) of Ibelin II. lord of Arfur, who died in the year 1258.

Sanuto, the Lignage d’Outremer, and the Affizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which speak of this lord, make no mention of the title of Constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which the lord de Joinville gives him.

(LXXII) *But he parried it.* The French is, ‘il y gyncha;’ ‘il guenchit’ in the Lusidiare,

‘Entre els se mit come lupars,
Sos fist guenchir de toutes pars.’

The translator of William of Tyre, l. 20. ch. 20. translates the word ‘declinare’ by that of ‘guenchir.’ See the glossary to Villehardouin.

(LXXIII) *Grandfather to the last deceased.* Henry III. duke of Burgundy, father to duke Eudes III. and grandfather to duke Hugh IV. died in the year 1272.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 10. ch. 6. seems to speak of the retreat of the duke of Burgundy with less bitterness than the lord de Joinville; for he says, that

* I cannot find any thing relative to this in the 24th dissertation.

as the Christians were advancing toward Jerusalem, the duke represented to the French, that the whole flower of french chivalry was in his battalion; whereas king Richard had but few in number, to whom, nevertheless, the honour of the victory would be given, which would be to the disadvantage and shame of France.

This duke is also much blamed by Ralph de Coggeshall, in his MS. chronicle; by Matthew Paris and others.

(LXXIV) *Neffa*. The edition of Poitiers has ‘Meffa.’

Pliny, in his 6th book, ch. 38. places the town of Neffa in Arabia Felix, in the country of the Amatheans. Agatharchides, in his books on the Erythræan Sea, mentions it likewise, and a MS. book of heraldry speaks of a king of Meffa, whom it ranks among the Christian kings, and gives him for arms a field azure, with three bends argent, sprinkled with hearts of the same.

(LXXV) *The greatest king in Christendom*. See the 25th dissertation.

(LXXVI) *Count John de Châlons*. John, count de Châlons and d’Auxerre, who was first married to Maude, daughter to Hugh III. duke of Burgundy, from which marriage sprung Hugh, surnamed de Châlons, thus called from his maternal grandfather, and who afterward married Meranie, countess of Burgundy.

(LXXVII) *Preuhomme*. Saint Louis made this distinction between *preuhomme* and *preudhomme*. The first was valiant and personally bold; the second, prudent, discreet, having a good conscience, and the fear of God. The words *preu*, and *preuhomme*, are derived from the Latin *probus*, which, in the writers of the middle ages, signified a ‘valiant man;’ and from this the French have formed their word *preux*.

Saxo Grammaticus in l. 2. of his hist. of Denmark, ‘*Affit eidem, ut probus est quisque, procul hinc procul este fugaces.*’

An ancient epitaph, quoted in the antiquities of Besançon, by Chifflet, has,
‘*Hic Renaude jaces, vir amabilis, et probe Miles.*’

Thus the word *probitas* is used for courage and valour, in Gauterius Cancell. de bellis Antioch. p. 444.

Roderic. arch. of Toledo, in his history of Spain, l. 2. ch. 14. and in the extract of a decree of the council of Sienna, published by Christopher Forstner: 'Quod mariscalco et militibus Theutonicis pro remuneratione probitatis, quam fecerunt heri contra inimicos communis senensis, debeant donari et dari de pecunia communis D. libræ denariorum senensium.'

From this word we have formed 'prouesse,' the English 'prowess,' the Spaniards 'prozza,' the Italians 'prodezza.' St Louis has then kept to the meaning which this word had in his time, or rather paid attention to the manner of its being pronounced.

(LXXVIII) *Naples*. Neapolis, a town in Samaria, which Baldwin, king of Jerufalem, had formerly taken.

See Albert d'Aix, l. 10. ch. 26.

Robert le Moine, l. 9.

Baldric, l. 4.

Guibert, l. 7. ch. 14.

John Phocas in his description of the holy land, note 13. &c.

(LXXIX) *The lord de Sur*. Philippes de Montfort.

(LXXX) *Belinas*. Called by the ancients 'Paneas,' and 'Cæsarea Philippi.' Noradin captured it from Humphrey de Toron in the year 1177.

(LXXXI) *Jordan*. See W. of Tyre, l. 13. ch. 18.

The history of Jerufalem at the year 1113.

John Phocas in his description of the holy land, n. 22. &c.

(LXXXII) *Les terriers*. This word is not in the Poitiers edition.

(LXXXIII) *The Germans*. The knights of the teutonic order.

(LXXXIV) *John de Valenciennes*. I have seen a deed in the Tresor des Chartres du Roi, which mentions a John de Valenciennes as lord of Cayphas, in the holy land, under the PP. Clement V.

(LXXXV) *Olivier de Termes*. This Olivier de Termes was son to Raymond lord of Termes in Languedoc, a strong partisan of the counts of Toulouse, of whom the monk of Vaux de Sarnay speaks fully in the 36th, 41st and 42d chapters of his history of the Albigeois. He, as well as his father, followed the party of the viscount de Beziers, and of Raymond the young count of Toulouse, against the king St Louis; to whom, however, he submitted, in the year 1246. See the history of the counts of Toulouse by M. Catel.

According to our author, and the chronicle of Flanders, ch. 21. he attended the king on this expedition, and again returned to the holy land in the year 1264, as we learn from Sanuto, l. 3. part. 12. ch. 7.

When the king, St Louis, went the second time to Africa, he followed him thither, according to William de Nangis. Having returned to France after the death of the king, Philippes le hardy again sent him to the holy land in the year 1273, with twenty knights and one hundred cross-bows, in the pay of the king, where he died two years afterward, as Sanuto relates, part. 12. chapters 12 & 14.

(LXXXVI) *Captains of the Torte Langue*. Languedoc. See Catel's memoirs on Languedoc, p. 39.

(LXXXVII) *During this*. Before these words, there is in the Poitiers edition a whole chapter (the 74th), wherein is related how the king of the Tartars took the town of Baldach, and how he confined the caliph of it in an iron cage, and starved him to death. Because it seems to have been retrenched from this edition, or rather from the MSS. which Claude Menard made use of, and since it bears every appearance of having been written by our author, I think it proper to insert it in this place.

‘ While we were before Sajette, some merchants came to the king, and brought him intelligence that the king of Tartary had taken the city of

Baldach, with the apostle of the Saracens, who was lord of the town, and was called the Caliph of Baldac.

‘ The manner of its capture was as follows. The king of Tartary had laid his plans with much secrecy and caution, and, after he had besieged the place, sent to inform the caliph, that in order to preserve peace and be on good terms with him, he was desirous that a marriage should take place between their two children. The caliph, having consulted his council, replied, that he was satisfied with the proposal. In return, the king of Tartary requested, that he would send to him forty of his principal counsellors to treat of and agree to this marriage. This the caliph complied with; but the king of Tartary detained them, and sent word they were not enough, and that forty more of the richest of the caliph’s subjects must also be sent for the greater security of the articles of the marriage. The caliph, believing what he said was the truth, sent him forty more, as he had desired, and even a third time the same number of his principal subjects.

‘ When the tartar king had thus got six score of the best captains, and the principal and most wealthy of the caliph’s subjects, he thought the remainder must consist of such common people as could not resist him, and would be unable to defend themselves.

‘ Upon this, he ordered the six score personages to be beheaded, and attacked the town so briskly that he took it, with the caliph its lord.

‘ Having gained the town, he wished to cover his disloyalty and treason by throwing the blame on the caliph, whom he confined in an iron cage. He made him fast until the last extremity, when the king came to him, and asked if he were hungry. ‘ Yes, indeed, am I,’ replied the caliph, and not without cause.’ The king then ordered a large golden platter filled with jewels and precious stones to be offered to him, and asked him, ‘ Caliph, dost thou know these rich jewels and treasure which thou seest before thee?’ ‘ Yes,’ said the caliph, for they had been his own. The king again asked, if he much loved these jewels: and on the caliph answering in the affirmative, he replied, ‘ Well, since then thou lovest these treasures so much, take of them as much as thou wilt, and eat them, to appease thy hunger.’ The caliph said, they were not food to eat. ‘ Now;

answered the king of Tartary, 'thou mayest at present see thy great fault; for if thou hadst given of thy treasures, which thou lovest so dearly, to subsidize soldiers in thy defence, thou mightest have held out against me, but that which thou prized the most, has failed thee in thy need.'

The lord de Joinville had before said something of this exploit of the Tartars; but in the foregoing passage he has detailed circumstances, (if, however, this be written by him) which are conformable to what Aythya relates in the 25th and 26th chapters. See also the writers before quoted.

With regard to the caliph of Baldac, or of Babylon, or rather 'Baudac,' and 'Baudas' by Froissart, vol. 3. ch. 23. vol. 4. ch. 74, (Sauvage's edition), and other writers of those times. The above account styles him Apostle, that is to say, Pope of the Saracens, because he was the head of the mussulman religion.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1125, 'Machomet tenet regnum de Baudac, ubi est Papa Saracenorum, qui vocatur Calyphas.'

Tudebodus, in his history of the holy wars, gives him the title of 'Apostolicus Turcorum.'

Raymond d'Agiles that of 'Papa Turcorum.'

(LXXXVIII) *Our Lady of Tortosa*. This pilgrimage is not mentioned in the histories of the holy wars, though Claude Menard has likewise so written it; for Guibert and William of Tyre, whom he quotes, speak only of the capture of Tortosa by the count of Toulouse. It is, notwithstanding, true, that Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 93. and Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1142, notice this church being then much frequented by Christians, on account of its sanctity. They write, that the son of the count of Tripoly was there slain by assassins employed by the old man of the mountain, and whither, probably, he had gone on a pilgrimage to fulfil a vow. The printed copies of Jacques de Vitry, in this place, misname it Carchusa, for Tortosa.

William of Oldenbourg, in his itinerary of the holy land, given to the public by the learned Allatius, in his miscellanies, assures us, that in his time this church was in great veneration with Christians, and even with infidels; for, in speaking of Tortosa, he says, 'Est in ea ecclesia parva maximæ venerationis, quam B. Petrus et Paulus cum Antiochiam

propararent, ex Angelica admonitione, propriis manibus ex incultis lapidibus, sanctæ Mariæ tunc primo composuerunt, ac si dicerant: flebile principium melior fortuna sequetur. Hæc erat prima ecclesia quæ in honorum Dominæ nostræ semperque virginis Mariæ fuit ædificata et dedicata. Et est in ea hodie sedes episcopalis, ubi Domina nostra Dei genetrix semper virgo Maria, etiam ipsis infidelibus Saracenis multa præstat beneficia.'

This agrees with what the lord de Joinville says, 'that it was then reported to have been the first altar raised to the honour of the mother of God.'

(LXXXIX) *The prince of that territory.* Boëmond VI. prince of Antioch, count of Tripoly and lord of Tortosa.

(xc) *To his camlets.* After these words, what follows is in the edition of Poitiers: 'I forgot to say, that whilst the king was at Sajette, a great person in Egypt sent him a most curious stone, the like was never seen. It split into scales, and, when one scale was taken off, there was seen the perfect resemblance of a sea-fish deeply impressed between the two stones, to which neither colour nor form was deficient, in similar matter to the stone. The king gave me a part of it, and, when it was divided, there was the exact form and colour of a tench, such as it is in nature.'

(xci) *His mother was dead.* See Geoffry de Beaulieu, ch. 28. and Matthew of Westminster, p. 351.

(xcii) *For his said lady-mother.* The Poitiers edition adds, 'After I had quitted the apartment of the king, the lady Mary de Bonnes-Vertus came to entreat that I would wait on the queen to comfort her, for that she was in marvellous great grief. When I was in her chamber, and saw her weeping so very bitterly, I could not refrain from saying to her, that the proverb was very true which said, 'We ought never to believe in the tears of women,' for that the lamentation she was making was for the woman

she hated the most in this world. She replied, that it was not for her she wept, but for the extreme melancholy of the king, as well as for her daughter, afterwards queen of Navarre, who would now be under the guardianship of men. The reason why the queen disliked the queen dowager, was the continued rudeness of her behaviour to her; for she would not suffer her son to keep company with his queen, and prevented it as much as lay in her power. When the king made any excursions through his kingdom, in company with the two queens, queen Blanche had him separated from his queen, and they were never lodged in the same house. It happened one day, during a stay which the court made at Pontoise, that the king was lodged in the story above the apartments of his queen, and he had given orders to his ushers of the chamber, whenever he should go to lie with his queen, and his mother was coming to his, or to the queen's chamber, to beat the dogs until they cried out: when the king heard them, he hid himself from his mother. Now one day queen Blanche went to the queen's chamber, where her son had gone before to comfort her, for she was in great danger of death, from a bad delivery, and he hid himself behind the queen to avoid being seen, but his mother perceived him, and, taking him by the hand, said, 'Come along: you will do no good here,' and put him out of the chamber. Queen Margaret observing this, and that she was to be separated from her husband, cried aloud, 'Alas! will not you allow me to see my lord, neither when I am alive nor dying?' In uttering these words she fainted, and her attendants thought she was dead: the king likewise believed it, and instantly returned to her, and recovered her from her fainting fit.'

(XCIII) *Among such distoyal people.* This was the common complaint of the writers of those times against the abuses of the court of Rome; against which they have uttered such invectives that the cardinal Baronius, with many others, have believed these scandalous expressions to have been scattered with address by heretics in the books they published, such as Matthew Paris, and other historians, particularly the English. This is, however, scarcely probable; for it is certain the complaints were then

universal, as may be gathered from the conversation John de Sarisbury, bishop of Chartres, had on this subject with pope Adrian IV. as he mentions himself in the sixth book of the Polychronicon, ch. 24.

It is, besides, worthy of remark, that the legate, according to the lord de Joinville, treats those of that court as disloyal. The Recluse, or the Monk of Moliens, who lived under the reign of Henry II. of England, in his MS. romance, which he has entitled, 'De Charité,' enlarges much on this subject, sparing neither pope nor cardinals, and inveighing bitterly against the avarice and other disorders of that court. I do not, however, give an entire belief to these invectives, for the book is one continued satire against the disorders of every profession. I shall now give an example of the complaints in the poet's own words.

‘ § O Charité la me dit-on.
 Qui tu jadis en la maison
 Del pape estoit conseillere,
 Dont ala la cours par raison :
 Mais tu n'i fus c'une saison,
 Car on te mist à la foriere,
 Par conseil d'une pantoniere,
 C'est convoitise la bonnesiere,
 Qui ne redoute traïson,
 Faire tant à pecune chiere,
 Fel cuer tapist sous bele chiere,
 Quant on li fait d'argent poison.

‘ § Je n'ois pas le grant bien non.
 Diré du Pape par son nom,
 Pape ne let com arains ionne,
 Mais cil qui li sont environ ;
 Souvent i tendent leur giron,
 Si en font blaimer ia perionne,
 Tele manie entour lui toïonne,
 Dont male nouvelle reïonne,
 Car volentiers sert d'un baston,
 Au povre, si que tout l'estonne,

Ne doit servir fers qui bastonne
A Pape, mais à Pilaton.

‘ § Ne puet povres en court entrer,
S’il ne se veut faire fautrer,
Mainte teste i a on fautrée,
Li fus fait vuit pot espautrer,
Hom Wis ne puet la porte outrer,
Mais au portant est ire outrée,
Qui porte il a pais encontrée,
Bele chiere fait a l’entrée
Li portiers quant voit ens entrer
Dont espoire argent ou rentrée,
Convoitise est tout esventrée,
Ja tant ne fara enventrer.

‘ § Quant je me fuis mis al retour,
De la grant court je fis un tour,
La où mainent li Cardounal,
Mais tous les trouvai d’un atour,
Chà et là tous font merquatour,
Li bas et li haut curial,
Quel font amont, tel font aval
Par tout trouvai porte venal,
Moi souvient, passé font mains jour,
Que un home dit un mot ytal,
Je ne vueil estre plus loial,
Ne plus preudom de mon Seignour.’

And further on,

‘ § Charité, tu n’as pas mesure
En Roume qui la gent mesure,
Roume mesure home comment
La bourse est grans non l’estature,
La lois se taist quant ors murmure
Droit se tapist à son d’argent
Si je vueil descrire briement,

Coment on vit roumainement,
 Roumains à la langue fece et dure
 Ne puet parler fans oignement
 Et fes huis fiet tant fecement,
 Qu'il ne puet ouvrir fans ointure.'

See the Recherches de Pasquier, l. 3. ch. 21.

(xciv) *Perilous*. French *perillez*. An old expression, to say we had fallen into danger. In the norman laws of William the bastard, ch. 32. 'Et si avers trepassent, perilot, a el devient vuaté, e il ne pussent muſtrer ne cri ne force qui l'en fu faite, si rendissent l'aveir.' That is to say, 'if the avoires (cattle) die, or fall into such peril, that in the end they are ruined,' &c. This I have explained, because the learned Selden has mistaken the sense of this passage.

'Anonymus Barenſis in Chron. an. 1064. Dux venit in Bari, — et Gozelino perilavit cum fuis in Perino.' See page 128.

(xcv) *Baphe*,—a town in Cyprus. See Stephen de Lusignan's history of Cyprus, ch. 7.

(xcvi) *King's sister*. Blanche, daughter of Philippes le hardy and sister to Philippes le bel, kings of France. She was married to Rodolphus duke of Austria, eldest son to the emperor Albert I. and afterwards king of Bohemia. This marriage was arranged at the interview near Toul in Lorraine, between king Philip and Albert king of the Romans; and the young lady, who had accompanied her father, was betrothed on the day of the conception of the Virgin, in the year 1299, according to the austrian history. But Steron says, the marriage did not take place before 1301; when it is certain it was concluded in the year 1300, from an account of the bailiffs of France to Ascension-day 1302, which was communicated to me by M. d'Herouval, and in which is inserted another account with this title, 'Compotus viagii facti in Alemanniam conducendo ducissam Austriæ anno 1300 sororem regis, factus per Mag. Joannem de S. Justo.'

In this account mention is made of the lord de Joinville, who, with other lords, accompanied the princess to Germany, in these words : ‘ Pro scutiferia Dominæ Ducissæ per Hermerum de Montemartyrum pro 29. diebus, et pro pluribus personis, qui cum ea remanserunt pro suis negotiis, 195*l.* 19*s.* 2 *den.* Item pro denariis traditis comiti Sacri Cæsaris 132*l.* Ducissæ Lotharingiæ 73*l.* 15*s.* Domino de Joinville 45*l.* 14*s.* Domino de Domna-petra 168*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* Philippo de Pacy de dono 80*l.* &c. Summa totalis dictarum et aliarum expensarum 4763*l.*’ &c.

It seems even that the marriage was solemnised at Paris, whither Rodolphus came for that purpose. A journal of the treasury, beginning the 1st January 1297, and ending the last day of December 1301, has the following entry :

‘ 13 Maii 1300. Gulielmus de Flavacuria, Miles pro provisione expensarum pro nuptiis Dominæ Blanchæ sororis regis 1000*l.* Par. Martis die 24 Maii 1300. Comes Sacri Cæsaris dominus Stephanus, et Rodolphus Crocuria Miles, missi obviam filio regis Alemanniæ, pro expensis suis, et aliis sibi commissis de Mandato regis 800*l.* Par.’

I am indebted for all these curious particulars, with many others, to Monsieur de Vyon, lord of Herouval, auditor of accounts.

(xcvii) *The island of Lampieuse.* This is the island of Lampedusa, called by Ptolomy *Lapadusa*, by the Italians *Lampadoufa*, and *Lipadusa* by Ariosto in his fourth canto, who represents it as being uninhabited, as well as the lord de Joinville. It is one hundred miles distant from Malta. Geographers remark, there is at present a church called Sancta Maria de Lampedusa, divided into two parts, as described by our author.

(xcviii) *Blanche de champ.* The edition of Poitiers reads, ‘ Blanchie de chaux,’ whitened with lime.

(xcix) *That he might live on them.* The Poitiers edition to this adds : ‘ Afterward, in the course of our voyage, we passed another island, called Pantaleone, which was peopled with Saracens, a part of whom were subject

to the king of Sicily, and part to the king of Tunis. When we first saw this island at a distance, the queen entreated the king to have the goodness to order three galleys to bring fruit for her children, which he did, commanding them to make haste, that they might meet him when he should pass the island.

‘ It fell out, that when the king was opposite to the port of this island, he could not see his galleys. The sailors, to his questions about them, answered, ‘ that very probably the Saracens had captured them and their crews; but, sire, we would not advise you to wait for them, for you are near the kingdoms of Sicily and Tunis, neither of whose kings bear you any great love; and if you will allow us to make sail, we will, before night, place you out of danger from them, for we shall, in a short time, have passed the straits.’ ‘ In truth,’ replied the king, ‘ I shall not follow your advice, but order you to turn the helm, that we may seek our people.’ And, happen what would, we were obliged so to do, and thus lost full eight days in waiting for them, on account of their gluttony, which they were impatient to satisfy.’

This island, which is here called ‘ Pantaleone,’ is that named by geographers ‘ Pantalarea,’ situated between Sicily and Africa, pretty near to Soufa, a town in the kingdom of Tunis. It belongs to the king of Spain, and is subject to the viceroy of Sicily. The inhabitants, although catholic Christians, wear the dress, and speak the language of the Moors.

(c) *Our Lady of Vulbert.* The Poitiers-edition reads ‘ Vauvert.’

(ci) *Agues-mortes.* The town of Agues-mortes was unknown before the reign of St Louis, who built the tower that is now seen there, and which is commonly called the Tower of Constance, and serves as a light-house for seamen. He had it afterward surrounded by walls, to induce inhabitants to reside there, and for its security against pirates, as we learn from an epistle of pope Clement IV. l. 3. ep. 260. quoted by M. Catel, in his memoirs of Languedoc, and by Augustus Galland in his treatise on free tenures. It was the only sea-port our kings then had on the Mediterranean, for Provence and Languedoc had their own particular lords. At this day

there is no harbour at Aigues-mortes, and the sea does not come within half a league of it. The same has happened at Wiffan in the Boulonois, which I shall endeavour to shew, by a rather curious dissertation (the 26th), to be the celebrated Portus Itius which Cæsar and the ancient geographers have mentioned.

There are, in the chamber of accounts in Paris, different rolls, entitled ‘*Gista quæ Domino regi debentur*,’ which contain not only the names of all the towns, monasteries, bishopricks, and other persons who are bound to pay the tax of giste* to the king, but likewise all the gistes which the king, St Louis, had levied during his reign, in different parts, as occasions offered. I do not pretend to say any thing respecting the nature or origin of this tax, for it is irrelevant to my subject, but I will simply make an extract of the gistes he took in the year 1254, because they mark exactly the road he followed on his return to Paris from the holy land.

‘*Gista quæ dom. rex Ludovicus cepit an. Dom. 1254, postquam rediit de partibus transmarinis.*

‘*Dominica in vigilia S. Laurentii apud Podium pro gisto burgenfium 120 l. 100 s. tourn.*

‘*Die Lunæ ibidem pro gisto electi Podiensis 120 l. 100 s. tourn.*

‘*Die Martis ibidem pro gisto capituli Podiensis 120 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Die Mercurii apud Bridam pro gisto villæ, 100 l. t.*

‘*Die Jovis apud Yffiodorum pro gisto villæ, 100 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Sabbato apud Clarummontem in Alvernia pro gisto villæ 120 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Die Martis post assumptionem B. Mariæ apud S. Porcianum pro gisto 75 l. t. de quo solverunt burgenfes 50 l. et Prior pro parte sua 25 l.*

‘*Die Lunæ ante festum sancti Gregorii apud S. Benedictum supra Liger m pro gisto Abbatiae, 100 l. t.*

‘*Die Sabbati ante festum S. Clodoaldi apud Vicenas pro gisto Abbatiae Foffatenfis 120 l.*

* Le droit de gîte was originally the tax imposed on the different towns, &c. when the first kings of France travelled through their kingdom, to defray their expenses: it afterward became a regular impost from which none were exempted.

See Du Cange’s *Glossarium ad Scriptores Medii Ævi* voc. *Gista*.

- ‘ Dominica fequenti apud S. Dionysium pro giftō Abbatiaē 120 l.
- ‘ Die Sabbati ante festum apostolorum Simonis et Judæ apud Bruerias, pro giftō villæ 60 l.
- ‘ Dominica fequenti apud Cerniacum pro eodem 60 l.
- ‘ Die Lunæ fequenti apud Velleiacum pro eodem 4 l.
- ‘ Die Martis fequenti apud S. Medardum Sueffion. pro giftō 100 l. 54 s. 4 d.
- ‘ Die Mercurii ibidem in Abbatia Monialium pro eodem 120 l. 54 s. 5 d.’

(CII) *The bishop of Oliva.* William de Pontoise, who from being Prior of la Charité was elected abbot of Cluny in the 1244, and afterward bishop of Oliva, and not of Langres, as M. Menage has advanced, p. 737. of his ‘ Origines de la Langue Françoisse.’ The bull of pope Alexander given at Viterbo, 3. Kal. Oct. Pontific. 3. and now in the library of Cluny calls him, ‘ Venerabilis frater Guillelmus episcopus Olenensis;’ but it should have been ‘ Olivenfis.’ This William was bishop of Oliva, which is a suffragan bishoprick on the archbishoprick of Patras in the Morea.

Albericus intimates this, when in 1236, in speaking of Geoffry prince of Achaia, he says,

‘ Sub prædicto domino Gaufredo sunt duo archiepiscopi, ille de Patras, qui est primus et archiepiscopus Corynthis : primas habet unum episcopum de Oliva, id est Andrevilla,’ &c.

Pope Innocent III. l. 13. ep. 25 & 156. l. 15. ep. 22. notices this bishoprick of Andreville, and says, it was ‘ unus de ditioribus et nobilioribus episcopatibus Romaniaē.’ It is also mentioned in the ‘ Provincial Romain,’ and in an epistle of pope Honorius III. in the ecclesiastical annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, in the year 1218, note 27.

(CIII) *The dauphines.* Beatrice of Savoy, daughter to Peter count of Savoy, by Agnes de Foucigny, wife to Guigues V. dauphin of the Viennois. The lord de Joinville styles her his niece; that is to say, related in an inferior degree, as Andrew du Chesne has explained it, in the 7th chapter of his history of the dauphins.

M. de Guichenon, in that part of his history of Savoy where he speaks of this princess, does not notice this relationship. It is true, there was an alliance between the houses of Joinville and Foucigny, as I have remarked in the genealogy of the house of Joinville; for Simon de Joinville, lord of Gex, brother to John lord de Joinville, or more probably his son Hugh, married Leonora de Foucigny, sister to Agnes de Foucigny, mother to Beatrice of Savoy, and in this case Beatrice would have been niece by marriage to the lord de Joinville.

(civ) *The count de Châlons.* See hereafter, note cix.

(cv) *The daughter of Champagne.* Blanche, daughter to Thibaud VI. by his first wife Agnes de Beaujeu, married to John earl of Brittany.

(cvi) *Isabella the king's daughter.* See Messieurs de Sainte Marthe's history of France. The epitaph on this princess is in the 5th vol. of the historians of France, page 443.

(cvii) *In his dress.* The simplicity of the king St Louis in his clothing has been already noticed, and by William de Nangis in the year 1248, where he says, that from the moment he first put on the cross, he quitted all pomp of dress: 'nec ab illo tempore indutus est scarleto, vel panno viridi seu bruneta, nec pellibus variis, sed veste nigri coloris, vel camelini seu perfei.'

Pope Boniface VIII. in the sermon on his canonization, says, 'Vestes quas habuit, non erant regiæ, sed religiosæ; non erant militis, sed viri simplicis.' See also the bull for his canonization in the 5th volume of the historians of France, page 490. and Geoffry de Beaulieu 'de vita et conversat. S. Lud.' c. 8.

It was on this subject that a doctor of his time thought proper to blame him publicly, maintaining that a prince ought never to appear but clad in purple: 'Regem non debere communibus uti vestibus, sed semper purpuratum incedere.' But Thomas de Cantimpré has undertaken his defence against this imprudent preacher, in the 3d book de Apib. c. 57. n. 63, 64.

(CVIII) *Garnutes*. The poitiers edition has *Carintes*.

(CIX) *The count de Châlons*. It is the count John, who has been before mentioned. His father was William count d'Auxonne, married to Beatrice, countess of Châlons, daughter to William III. count de Châlons. From this marriage were born, among other children, John count de Châlons, and Beatrice, second wife to Simon lord de Joinville, father to the author of this history, to whom the count de Châlons was uncle, as he calls him in this, and other passages.

John count de Châlons had a son, as has been noticed, named Hugh, who espoused Alicia de Meranie, countess of Burgundy, daughter and heiress to Otho III. count palatine of Burgundy. By means of this marriage the county of Burgundy again returned to the male line of these counts. See Du Chesne's hist. of Burgundy, book 4th.

With regard to the disputes that arose between the father and son, although history has suppressed the causes of them, they will afford me matter for a thorough discussion on private wars, and afterward on *fiefs jurables, et rendables*, which are rather uncommon subjects, in the two last dissertations, the 27th and 28th.

(CX) *Count Thibaud de Bar*. In the history of the bishops of Verdun, at the year 1226, is, 'Theobaldus comes Barri cepit in conflictu Henricum comitem de Lucemburgo 15 kal. Oct. cepit etiam castrum de Ligneio per infidias ipso anno 111. Non. Jul.' Du Chesne, in the first chapter of the third part of his history of Luxembourg, relates the motives and consequences of this war.

(CXI) *An infamous oath*. William de Nangis, p. 364. and Geoffry de Beaulieu, ch. 32. call this oath 'inhonestum juramentum.' The MS. statutes of the order of the Crown of Thorns, drawn up by a Celestin friar under the reign of Charles VI. has, 'he who once only shall have sworn this infamous oath,' &c.

This great rigour of St Louis against blasphemers was not approved by pope Clement IV. who addressed a bull to him, which is in the Tresor des

Chartes du Roi. Laitte against blasphemies, tit. 1 & 2. given at Viterbo the 12th July, in the fourth year of his pontificate. In this bull the pope, after complaining of the great numbers of blasphemers in France, entreats him to have the goodness to establish temporal punishments against them, without putting them to death, or depriving them of their limbs. He does not mean to withdraw them from canonical censures, or to do any thing prejudicial to the constitution of pope Gregory, his predecessor; ‘*Sed auxilio mutuo utriusque gladium credimus adjuvandum, et ut spiritualis manualetn dirigat, et manualis spiritualetn fulciat et sustentet.*’

By a bull of the same date, addressed to the king of Navarre, count of Champagne, he exhorts him to repress the disorders that are daily committed by blasphemers, advising him, however, not to imitate the example of the king of France in the punishments which he had enacted against blasphemers, in these words: ‘*Sed fatemur quod in pœnis ejus modi tam acerbis, eorundem vestigiis charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Francorum illustrum non deceat inhærere, sed aliæ poterunt reperiri citra membri mutilationem et mortem, quæ a dictis blasphemis temerarios homines poterunt cohibere. Quo circa serenitatem tuam monendam duximus et hortandum, quatenus tuam reputans tui redemptoris injuriam, prædicto regi Francorum consulas et suadeas, quod ad regnum suum ab hac labe purgandum salubriter statuatur de suorum consilio procerum quod ad Dei honorem et gloriam viderit statuendum. Dat. Viterbii 11. Id. Aug. pontifi. nostri A. IV.*’

This epistle is in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king’s library, f. 64. It is probable that it was in consequence of these remonstrances of the pope, that the king, St Louis, changed the corporal punishments of blasphemers into pecuniary fines, by the following edict, which is in the 10th register of the Tresor des Chartes du Roi, f. 54.

‘It shall be proclaimed through all towns, and at every fair and market, once at least every month, that none be so bold to swear by any of the members of God, of our lady, or of the saints, or to do any thing, or utter any indecent word by way of oath, that may any way turn to the disgrace of God, of our lady, or of the saints. Should any such be done or said, the punishments established shall inevitably follow. And he who may have

been privy to, or heard or seen such things done or said, is bound to make them known to the officers of justice, otherwise he will be at the mercy of the lord of the town or place, to inflict such fine on him as he may judge proper.

‘ If any person of the age of fourteen years, or upward, use any word or expression, by swearing, or otherwise, that may turn to the disgrace of God, of our lady, or the saints, and which shall be so horrible as it would be shocking to relate, he shall pay a fine of forty, but it shall not be ever reduced to less than twenty livres, according to the state and situation of the man or person so offending. Should he or they be in such indigent circumstances as to be unable to pay the above fine, or to procure others to pay it for them, he shall be put in the pillory for the space of one hour, by the officers of justice, in that part where the commonalty most usually assemble, and then confined in prison for the term of six or eight days, and fed on bread and water.

‘ Should it happen that any one, of the age aforesaid, do, or utter any thing disgraceful to God, to our lady, or to the saints, although very horrible, yet in an inferior degree to what we have before noticed, he shall pay a fine of ten livres, but never less than twenty sols, according to the manner of the act or speech, and the state and condition of the person, and which he shall be forced to pay; but should his situation be such, that from poverty he cannot pay the fine, or find any to pay it for him, he shall then be put in the pillory for one hour in lieu of it, in the most public place of assembly of the people, and afterwards be imprisoned for three days, and fed on bread and water.

‘ And when any person shall offend by word or deed, though in a less criminal degree, God, the blessed virgin or the saints, he shall be fined eleven sols, and never less than five, according to the degree of criminality and the condition of the person; and, should he, from poverty, be unable to pay it, or to procure some other person to do it for him, he shall be imprisoned one day and one night, and fed on bread and water.

‘ If the person guilty of any of the above crimes be of the age of ten years or upwards, but under fourteen years, he shall be stripped naked and flogged with rods, either publicly or in private, according to the heinousness

of the offence: that is to say, the men to be flogged by men, and the women by their own sex, without the presence of men, unless they shall avoid this punishment by paying the fine.

‘ When any one shall be denounced to the magistrate as guilty of such things, he shall be instantly brought before him, and the charges heard against him, whether his accuser be present or not; and if he be found guilty of the charges laid to him, he shall immediately suffer according to the aforesaid punishments.

‘ Those named as witnesses to prove the charges, if not present, shall be forced to come, if necessary, by bodily arrest and seizure of goods, to deliver their testimony respecting them on oath; and should there be several magistrates, one of them shall hear the evidence at the request of another, and shall send it sealed to the magistrate of the place where the crime had been committed.

‘ With regard to the fines levied, the accuser shall have one-fourth part of them, the magistrate another fourth; the lord of the place one-fourth, and the other shall be reserved to reward, if need be, those who shall make information of such crimes, and give the necessary knowledge of those who are too poor to pay the penalties.

‘ And for the more effectually carrying this law into execution, all provosts, bailiffs, mayors of towns, and magistrates acting under different lords, shall swear to use their utmost efforts to abolish this crime, according to the manner and form aforesaid; and that whoever may be convicted shall pay the full penalty, temporal and corporal, and not be otherwise acquitted. And he who shall inform against any magistrate neglecting his duty in this respect shall, on conviction, receive one-half of the fine so levied.

‘ The king commands all his bailiffs and magistrates of towns strictly to attend to the above, and orders it to be proclaimed at every assize, and that each lord do pay attention to it within his jurisdiction. Should it happen that any lord may be unable to carry this law into effect by punishing such as may be convicted of the crime aforesaid, he shall require the aid of his nearest lord and neighbour: should there be none, he must apply to us. And we order all our bailiffs do give every assistance in such cases, when required, that justice may have its course.

‘ Be it known, that the sergeants of a supreme lord cannot reside, nor remain on the lands of other lords who shall have jurisdictions, though subjects to the king, nor the sergeants of subjects on the lands of the sovereign.’

The warrant to the bailiffs for the enforcing the above ordinance runs as follows :

‘ Ludovicus, &c. tali baillivo. Cum nos in hoc parlamento assumptionis B. M. Paris. de assensu baronum nostrorum quandam ordinationem fecerimus de amovendis blasphemis, et enormibus juramentis, ac etiam puniendis: quam quidem ordinationem vobis mittimus per latorem præsentium sub contrafigillo nostro inclusam, mandamus vobis quatenus ordinationem istam per villas, nundinas, et mercata præconizari, et in vestris assisiis publicari faciatis, eamque in vestra baillivia quandiu nobis placuerit teneri firmiter, et servari.

‘ Et si forte contigerit aliquem de vestra baillivia aliquid dicere contra Deum, aut beatissimam virginem Mariam matrem ejus, adeo horribile, quod de pænis in prædicta ordinatione positis, ad illud non sufficiet vindicandum: volumus quod inflicta eidem propter hoc graviore pæna in eadem ordinatione contenta, res deferatur ad nos, et ipse in prisonem nostram nihilominus teneatur, quousque nostram super hoc rescripserimus voluntatem. Partem autem nos contingentem de emendis quæ provenient in vestra baillivia de blasphemis et juramentis hujusmodi, ponetis ad partem ad nostrum bene placitum inde faciendum, summam partis ipsius in parlamento omnium sanctorum nobis reddituri in scriptis, ac etiam relaturi quid de blasphemis interim erit. Actum,’ &c.

In another register, what follows is added to this edict of St Louis :

‘ It is ordered that messages be sent to the bailiffs and seneschals, that they see and make inquiry throughout all the king’s manors and castles within their bailiwicks, if there be any officers of justice receiving pay with whom they are dissatisfied: should there be any such, they must send their names written down to the king, and by whose orders they were appointed to the parliament that was to assemble on All-saints-day.

‘ Item, That orders be sent to every bailiff to remit all arrears they may owe to the treasury, to the Temple, and that it be done without delay.

* Item, That all bailiffs be commanded to enforce the aforesaid edict against villanous swearing throughout their bailiwicks, and in the territories of all barons within their jurisdiction; and to forbid all common brothels, and games of dice; to make proclamations of this ordinance: but the fine may be exchanged for corporal punishment, according to the rank of the offender, and the heinousness of the crime.

‘ Et est sciendum quod istæ et ultimæ partes, seu clausulæ, sunt de ordinatione facta super omnibus prædictis per regem Philippum, Parisiis en parlamento ascens. anno Dom. 1272.’

See the constitutions of Clement III. and of Gregory IX. in the Decretales tit. de Maledicis.

Corporal punishments have, however, been ordered, since the reign of St Louis, against blasphemers, especially in such cases where fines have failed to check their blasphemies. Without making a search into the laws of the subsequent kings, I shall content myself by reporting the terms of one by John II. duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, given at the castle of Moulins the last day but one of February 1474. This prince, wishing to extirpate blasphemers from his territories, ordered, that those convicted of such crimes should pay for the first offence the sum of five sols tournois, and a pound of wax to the church of the place where the offence had been committed, for repairs, or other necessary wants.

For the second offence, the fine was to be doubled; that is to say, ten sols and two pounds of wax.

For the third offence, the criminal was to be put in the pillory, and bound to it.

For the fourth, it was ordered that one of his ears be nailed to the pillory: should he be guilty a fifth time, his tongue was to be pierced with a hot iron on a full market-day; and should he still persist, he was to be banished for ever from the states of the duke.

There is an edict of Richard, king of the Romans, published at Soleure in the month of July 1257, which ordains punishments against blasphemers according to the coarseness of their blasphemies, even unto death. ‘ Si quis data industria et deliberato animo per Dei nomen, potentiam, misericordiam, baptismum, sacramentum, martyrium, passionem, vulnera, virtutem, et

similes sermones blasphemos juraverit, in primis ut damnatæ blasphemiae delictum inter publica crimina numeretur, deinde in ipsum reum ultionis gladio animadvertatur. Si quis vero ex ira aut prava consuetudine deliquerit, quoties dejerasse aut blasphemasse auditus fuerit, toties pro unoquoque blasphemo dicto vel juramento, singulos solidos judici, in cujus districtu crimen commississe deprehensus fuerit, toties pro unoquoque blasphemo culpabilis judicetur, (nisi tamen ita graviter blasphemasse convincatur, quod morte dignus existimetur) decernimus, ut secundum criminis circumstantias pro judicis arbitrio atrocius in corpore et vita puniatur.'

(CXII) *Set on a ladder, with a paper mitre on his head.* This ladder of punishment was used in ancient times, and, according to the glossary of Du Cange, is similar to our pillory. The criminal was forced to mount this, and be exposed to public view, to make him suffer the shame his crime deserved.

The Coûtumes d'Auxerre, art. 1. de Sens. art. 1 & 2. de Nivernois, tit. 1. art. 15. and de Bourbonnois, art. 2. speak of this mode of punishment, the vestiges of which are to be seen in the ladder in the Temple at Paris. It is also mentioned in the assizes of Champagne, preserved in the chamber of accounts in Paris, fol. 78. in these words: 'Vifa appressa facta super hoc quod Major et Scabini de Pruvino dicebant se esse et fuisse in bona faina faciendi et habendi scalam a tempore dominorum Campaniæ prædecessorum D. regis apud Pruvinum, in medio vico ante Domum Dei Pruvinensem, ad ponendum ibidem malefactores jurantes *inhonesta juramenta*, et justitiandi eosdem in scala, sive puniendi secundum locis consuetudinem, et secundum delictorum quantitatem, inventum fuit et probatum dictos Majorem et Juratos intentionem suam sufficiter probasse. Quare pronunciatum fuit per Curiae consilium, quod ibidem, prout esse consueverat, salvo jure D. regis, scala fiet et remanebit.'

(CXIII) *To call on the devil.* Our first Christians, and the devout who served God, held the devil in such abhorrence, as the enemy of mankind, that they were scrupulous even of naming him. It is for this reason that we

find the fathers of the church have affected to call him the wicked one, by simply naming him Malus. See Tertullian, lib. de Pænitentia, c. 5. lib. de Patient. c. 11. 14. de cultu fœmin. 2. 5. 1. 2. ad Uxor. ch. 6. S. Cyprian de orat. Dom. c. 10. S. Paulin epist. 4. ad Sever. Natali 4, 5 & 7.

Several imagine that this is understood in the words of the Lord's prayer, 'Deliver us from evil.' St Chrysostom thinks so, with Euthymius, Theophylactes, Origen, and others, on this prayer.

Our ancient poets call him almost always *Maufez*, because he does evil, and is the author of it, or because he is deformed and ill made, whence we have the word *mauvais* at present in use. The romance of Garin has,

' Mult fçait de guerre, maufez li ont appris.'

And William Guiart in the year 1302,

' Vilains braient come maufez,' &c.

(cxiv) *Several churches.* See Guillaume Guiart in the life of St Louis, La Mer des Histoires, Louis Lafféré, and others.

(cxv) *We Louis.* This ordinance was published at Paris in the year 1256, and is to be met with in some registers in the chamber of accounts at Paris in fuller detail than here.

(cxvi) *For forty days.* See the law 1. 'Cod. Ut omnes judices tam civiles quam militares post administrationem depositam 50 dies in civitatibus, vel certis locis permaneant.' See also the Theodosian and Valentinian Code 'de Tributis fiscalibus.' It is practised in Scotland, as we learn from the laws of the barons of Scotland commonly entitled, 'Quoniam Attachiamenta,' ch. 101.

(cxvii) *Sold themselves to the highest bidder.* See the ordinance of Philip le bel of the year 1315, for the reformation of the kingdom, art. 10. and the ordinance of 1302.

(cxviii) *Bad customs.* Taxes, imposts, tributes, oppressions. This expression is common and trivial.

(CXIX) *Stephen Boileau*. In an account of the bailiffs of France to the term of the Ascension in the year 1262, he is called 'Stephanus Boileue.' In another to Ascension-day 1266, 'Stephanus bibens aquam.' And in one to Candlemas in the year 1268, 'Stephanus Boitleaue Præpositus Parisiensis.' The author of the manuscript life of St Louis in the king's library, No. 714. says, in chap. 34. page 58. 'that instantly on his arrival at Paris, after his return from Palestine in the year 1258, he assembled many prelates, barons, and learned clerks of all ranks, and the members of his council, to revise the laws. Several ordinances were proposed, which he approved and confirmed, and had them enregistered and proclaimed in the court and jurisdiction of the Châtelet of Paris, and in all the other jurisdictions, bailiwicks and seneschalships in his kingdom. He nominated a citizen of Paris well famed for his prudence and wisdom, named Stephen Boileau, as president of the court of the Châtelet; and the king went thither very frequently, and seated himself beside the aforesaid Boileau to encourage him, and to give an example to the other judges of the realm. Oftentimes twice a-week he gave audiences in his palace to the poor and friendless, and sent at different times persons into the provinces to give him information of any corrupt or wicked judges.

'It happened that a bailiff at Amiens was found to have acted corruptly as a judge, when the king deprived him of his office, and had him imprisoned until he had made restitution of all that he had taken.'

This family of the Boileues subsists to this day in Paris and in Anjou.

The author of *La Mer des Histoires* speaks as highly of the strict justice of this provost of Paris, and confirms what the lord de Joinville says, that in matter of justice he paid no regard to relations or friends, adding, that 'he ordered a boy to be hanged, because the mother had said that he could not be prevented from stealing: likewise a companion of his own, who had denied the receiving a sum of money which his guest had given to him to keep.'

Louis Lasseré says the same thing.

(CXX) *Charitable to the poor*. Geoffroy de Beaulieu, ch. 18. speaks very fully of his alms, and the care he took of the poor.

William Guiart confirms this :

‘ Cis saints rois chascun jour fesoit
A l’honneur du bon Roy celestre,
Sis vint povres a sa cour pestre,
Très-souvent devant eus tailloit,
Et les viandes leur bailloit,
Pour ce faire souffroit grant peine.
Tout l’Avent et la Quarantaine
Estoit par son comand creus
Le nombre des Ramenteus.
Deus cens fust à chans ou à villes,
En servoit aus hautes vigiles,
Ainçois qu’il menjast ne beust.’

The edict which this holy king published at Paris in the month of October, of the year 1260, furnishes another proof of his charity. He thereby orders, that, according to the annual practice of his predecessors in time of Lent, ‘ De burfa regis usque ad duo millia centum decem et novem libras Parisienses, et 63 modios bladi, et insuper 68 millia alecium per manus eleemosynarii et baillivorum distribuantur.’ In addition to these usual alms, he orders his almoner to distribute daily during Lent 100 fols to the lower ranks of poor, &c.

(cxxi) *Annual festivals.* The four principal festivals of the year were thus called. The deed of Hugh duke of Burgundy, for the foundation of the holy chapel in Dijon, in the year 1172, quoted by M. Perard, in his memoirs on Burgundy, runs, ‘ In festis annualibus, id est in nativitate Domini, in Pascha, in Pentecoste, et in omnium Sanctorum.’ In another deed of Odo, bishop of Paris, of the year 1199, ‘ Apud Sammarthan. in Gall. Christ. statuentes ut in ipso festo tantum celebritatis agatur quantum in cæteris festis annualibus fieri consuevit.’ *Feste annual* is in a deed of Hugh of Burgundy of the year 1268, quoted by Perard, page 339.

(cxxii) *His familiars.* That is to say, the officers of his household, for it was thus they were styled in those days.

Roger Hoveden, p. 725. ‘Robertus de Turneham, familiaris regis.’

In the ratification of the will of king Philippes le bel, by Louis Hutin, Martin des Effars is called ‘familiar of the king,’ as mentioned by Gilles de Compiègne in the register of the Grands Jours, at Troyes.

Falcandus, in his history of Sicily, very often speaks of ‘the familiars of the court.’

(CXXIII) *Very expensive and liberal in his household.* We can form no better estimate of what were then the expenses of his household than from the ordinance St Louis issued respecting it, which is in a roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, communicated to me by M. d’Herouval.

‘Ordinatio hospitii et familiæ dom. regis facta an Dom. 1261, mense Augusto.

‘Cambellani amotis liberationibus suis, videlicet Johannes Sar Johannes Bourg et Petrus de Land quilibet 6 fol. per diem, et tres valletos comedentes ad curiam, et in fero dimidium sextarii vini, de candela unam torchiam per septem, etiam per quinque, aliam per quatuor, et 12 pecias candelæ minutæ, et fabricam (forge) ad tres equos.

‘Galterus de Quitriaco Cambellanus 5 fol. 6 d. per diem, 2 valletos comedentes ad curiam, dimidium sex. vini, in fero candelam et fabricam sicut alii Cambellani.

‘Valleti Cameræ quilibet 6 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ loco liberationis, et pugneyarum, 6. per diem qui sunt in curia ipsi omnes pro fœno summarii sibi communis 4 den. per diem, et quilibet sex pecias minutæ candelæ, et fabricam ad unum equum. Et vult dom. rex quod omnes pugneyæ erogentur ad voluntatem ipsius per manum eleemosynarii. Item quilibet eorum habet unum valettum, ad curiam comedent, pro roba 100 s. per annum quilibet partem suam æqualiter morsuum candelarum.

‘Guillelmus Brito, et Johannes de Ermenovilla, quilibet 12. d. per diem: 2 præbendas avenæ, 1. valletum, comedent ad curiam, quibus roba est loco liberationis et pugneyarum, 6. den. per diem, candelam, fabricam, et partem suam remorsuum candelarum sicut Valetti Cameræ.

‘Petrus de Brocia Cyrurgicus, et Valletus de Camera, et Guillelmus de Saltu, quilibet 2 s. per diem in Curia, et extra, duas præbendas avenæ, 2.

valletos comed. pro roba 100 s. de candela unam torchiam per 4. & 8. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabricam ad 2. equos. Item idem Petrus loco liberationis cameræ et pugneyarum 6 d. per diem, quando erit in curia.

‘ Guetæ. quilibet 6 d. per diem, loco liberationis et pugneyarum 6 d. per diem, quando sunt in curia, 1. præbendam avenæ. 1. valletum comed. 6. pecias minutæ cand. fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Johannes Barberius 6 d. per diem, pro valletto suo et equo hospitand. 3 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. fabricam ad unum equum, 6. pecias minutæ cand. pro roba 100 s.’

PANETERIA.

‘ Paneterius, Bartholomæus Tritan, ad 3. equos 6 s. per diem, 3. valletos comed. dimidium sextarii vini in fero, de Candela unam torchiam pro septem, aliam pro 5. aliam pro 4. & 12. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabr. ad 3. equos.

‘ Alii Paneterii quilibet ad 3. equos, 5 s. 6 d. per diem, 2. valletos comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela unam torchiam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabr. ad 3. equos.

‘ Michaël de Furno 4 s. per diem ad 2. equos, 2. valletos pro furno, et 1. post se comed. de candela unam torchiam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabr. ad 2. equos, pro roba pro se 60 s. pro roba pro 2. valletis 60 s.

‘ Jacobus clericus Paneteri 6 d. per diem, loco liberationis pro se, et homines paneterii hospitand. 3 den. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. 1. torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, pro servitio paneter. fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Petrus de Paneter. 6 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, et fabric. ad equum suum pro omnibus.

‘ Summularii mapparum quilibet 6 d. per diem pro quolibet summar. hospitand. 3 d. per diem, pro fœno cuilibet summario 3 d. per diem, quilibet eorum pro se et roncino suo hospit. loco liberationis 3 d. per

diem, 1. præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. fabricam ad 1. equum, de candela omnes infimul 1. torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, cuilibet pro roba 30 s.

‘ Quatuor portantes Capas, et unus diversus Clericos, quilibet 5 den. per diem, et comedant ad curiam omnes infimul, 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba 30 s.

‘ Oblearius pro fœno equi fui 3 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, pro præmio suo 100 s. per annum.

‘ Lotrix mapparum loco liberationis suæ 2 s. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, et præmium quod habere solet pro mappis levandis.

‘ Quadrigarius Paneter. ad 3 equos, pro fœno ipforum equorum 9 d. per diem, pro pane, vino, coquina et victu suo, et pro se et equis hospitandis 21 d. per diem, pro præmio 4 s. per annum, 6. pecias candelæ minutæ per diem.

SCANCIONARIA.

‘ Harcherus de Corbolio ad 3. equos 6 s. per diem, 3. vallet. comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela unam torchiam per 7. aliam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 3. equos.

‘ Alii Scancionarii ad 3. equos quilibet 5 s. 6 d. per diem, 2. vallet. comed. dimid. sext. vini, de Candela 1. torchiam per 5. aliam per 14. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 3. equos.

‘ Duo Clerici in Scancionaria, quilibet 6 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, unum valletum comed. unam quartam vini pro se hospite, 6. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 1. equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Guillelmus Madelinarius 5 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, 1. valletum pro se, et 2. tam pro cyphis, quam pro vitris quærendis et portandis, comed. 6. pecias minutæ candelæ fabr. ad 1. equum, pro roba 100 s. et si oporteat eum mittere pro vitris, reddetur ei vectura, nec percipiet 12. denar. pro summariis, quos percipere confuevit, quando mittebat pro vitris quærendis, dum rex distabat a Parisiis ultra 20. leucas.

‘ Summularii Scancionariæ 4. quilibet 3 d. per diem pro quolibet fummario hospitando 3 d. per diem quilibet eorum pro se et roncino suo hospitando loco liberationis 3 d. per diem, pro fœno cujuslibet fummarii 3 d. per diem, quilibet unam præbendam avenæ, unum valletum comed. ad 1. equum, de candela omnes insimul 1. torchiam per 4. et 12 pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba 30 s. et unus ex istis qui vocatur Coletus afferet aquam ad bibendum pro rege. Item, debent omnes insimul dimidium sextarii vini qualibet nocte, et 12 d. per diem, quando rex comedit per viam.

‘ Barillarii 5. quilibet 4 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, dimidium quarterii vini in fero, 4 pecias minutæ candelæ, pro roba 30 s.

‘ Boutarii 4. quilibet 5 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, vinum, candelam, robam, sicut Barillarii.

‘ Quadrigarii boutorum ad 3 equos 4 s. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, unam quartam vini in fero, reparationem quadrigæ, et æstimabuntur equi sui quando ponet eos in servitio, et si moriantur in servitio, reddetur eis servitium, valletus etiam suus comedet ad curiam.

‘ Potarius pro servitio potorum 2 s. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus.

‘ Duo portantes aquam ad bibendum pro communi, quilibet 3 d. per diem, et comedent ad curiam, et juvabunt Boutarios.

‘ Portator boutorum comedet ad curiam tantum.

COQUINA.

‘ Cocci, videlicet Nicolaus de Soifiaco, et Guillelmus Guillore, quilibet ad 3 equos, 6 d. per diem, 3 valleti comed. dimid. sext. vini in fero, addito quod Ifembertus habebat duo sextaria vini in quolibet fero, de candela quilibet 1. torchiam per 7. aliam per 5. aliam per 4. et duodecim pecias minutæ candelæ, fabr. ad 3 equos. Item, ille loco ipsius Ifemberti serviet, habebit vinum et candelam sicut et ipse Ifembertus.

‘ Alii cocci, quilibet ad 3 equos 4 s. 6 d. per diem, 2 valletos comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela quilibet 1. torchiam per 4. et 8 pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 2. equos.

‘ Adjutores, quilibet 2 s. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, 1. valletum comed. 6. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 50 s.

‘ Hastatores 14. quilibet 7 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, omnes infimul 16. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba, et calciamento, 50 s. et ille qui fervit eleemosynæ, percipiet tamquam Pagius, quamdiu ferviet eleemosynæ in isto servitio.

‘ Sufflatores 4. quilibet pro omnibus ad unum equum 12 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, omnes infimul 18. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba et calciamento 60 s. et quando præmittentur, habebunt expensas rationabiles.

‘ Custos ciborum, 5. panes et dimidium sextarii vini pro victu suo, 6. pecias minut. candelæ, pro roba et calciamento 60 s. pro equo suo, et omnibus aliis 12 d. per diem.

‘ Hostiarii coquinæ 2. quilibet 6 d. per diem, et comed. ad curiam, pro roba 20 s.

‘ Quadrigæ coquinæ 2. ad 8. equos, pro fœno et letteria 2 s. 8 d. per diem, aloud. Quadrigarius se quinto pro victu suo, se, equis, herneffo hospitand. 5 s per diem, 9. præbendæ avenæ per diem, 20. pecias minutæ candelæ, et pro roba sua, et valletorum fuorum 20 l. per annum.

‘ Quadrigarii Prandii ad 3. equos 4 s. per diem, pro præmio, et pro victu suo, et fervientis sui, 12 d. per diem, pro quadriga sua et herneffo reparando, et tenendis in bono statu 40 s. per annum, et æstimabuntur equi quando ponet eos in servitio, et si moriantur in servitio reddetur eis servitium: et 2. valleti qui vadunt cum illa quadriga, quilibet eorum 3 d. per diem, pro tunica et calciament. 15 s. per annum, et comedent ad curiam.

‘ Salfarii 2. in propria coquina regis pro quærendis necessariis ad falsam regis, 3 s. 6 d. de candela 12 pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet eorum pro roba 40 s. ambo infimul 3. valletos comedentes, quilibet habebit pro roba 40 s. et comedent ipsi ambo ad curiam.

‘ Scutellarii pro se, equo suo, et quinque valletis hospitandis 18 d. per diem, de candela 20. pecias minutæ candelæ, 1 præbend. avenæ, dictos

quinque valletos comed. pro roba 40 s. quilibet dictorum 5. valletorum pro roba, calciamento et præmio 60 s. per annum. Eleemosynarius habebit amodo panem falis.

‘ Lambertus custos 3. fummariorum falsar. et scuttelar. pro fœno et letteria ipsorum fummariorum 12 d. per diem, pro se et valletto suo, et ipsi3 fummariis hospitandis 6 d. per diem, pro præmio suo per annum 40 s. et pro præmio valleti sui per annum 20 s. de candela 8. pecias minut. candelæ, ambo comedent ad curiam.

‘ Clericus coquinæ pro radiis 12 d. per diem, pro fœno fummarii 3. den. per diem, pro lacteria fummariorum, se, suis valletis, et fummario hospitando 6 d. per diem, duo præbendas avenæ, de candela unam torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, comedent autem ipse et valletus suus, et valletus pro fummario, ad curiam.

‘ Johannes de Tieys, Pullarius in propria coquina regis pro 2. equis in omnibus tenendis 18 d. per diem, comedet ad curiam, et valletus suus, æstimabuntur autem illi duo equi, et si moriantur in servitio regis, reddatur ei servitium.

‘ Radulphus, Pullarius de communi, pro 4. equis in omnibus tenendis 4 s. 6 d. per diem, comedet ad curiam, et duo valleti sui, æstimabuntur prædicti 4. equi, et si moriantur in servitio regis, reddetur eis pretium.

‘ Furetarius 18 d. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 70 s. pro filetis et aliis 20 s. per annum.

‘ Piscator 2 s. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 50 s. pro tramaillio 40 s. per annum.

‘ Avicularius 12 d. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 40 s. per annum, pro rect. (l. retibus) 12 s. per annum.

‘ Johannes Pastillarius 6 d. per diem, pro se et hernefio suo hospitandis, comedet ad curiam, habebit autem pretium pastillorum, tartarum, et flatonem, sicut solet.

‘ Decem Garunculi qui sequuntur curiam in coquina, comedent ad curiam.

FRUCTUARIA.

‘ Johannes de Clichiano 12 d. per diem loco liberationis pro se, et toto herneſio ſuo, et tota familia ſua hoſpitandis 2 s. 8 d. per diem, 2 præbendas avenæ, 2 valletos per ſe comed. pro roba 30 s. reſiduum cerei de nocte ardentis in camera regis, et partem ſuam remorſuum candelarum. Item, habet 4 valletos qui faciunt candelam, et unum qui calefacit ceram, comedentes ad curiam, et habebunt pro dimidio ſextarii vini quod percipere ſolent, et pro ceſia 4 d. per diem, et 4. prædicti valleti qui faciunt candelam, et tam ille qui calefacit ceram, quam qui faciunt eamdem, pro roba per annum 15 l.

‘ Quadrigarius fructus ad 3 equos, 3 præbend. avenæ, pro foeno 9 d. pro victu ſuo et ſe hoſpitando cum equis ſuis, et herneſio, 21 d. per diem, et pro ſervitio ſuo 40 s. per annum.

SCUTIFERIA.

‘ Scutiferi et Mareſcalli, quilibet pro victu ſuo et valletis 2 s. per diem, pro ſe omnibus inſimul hoſpitandis 2 s. per diem, pro candela 12 d. per diem, quando rex mutat giſtum, quilibet ſcutifer habet pro lecto ſuo, et valleti ſui, et lecteria equorum ſuorum 8 d. per diem. Item, habent omnes inſimul tam Scutiferi quam Mareſcalli loco liberationis quam habere ſolent, quando rex equitabat ante prandium, vel poſt, ſi mutaret giſtum 8 s. per diem. Item, Pontius et Hugo habent foenum et avenam et fabric. ad duos equos. Item, in vigiliis et diebus annalibus quærent victualia ſua rationabilia, et reddetur eis ſumma pecunia rationabilis quam conſtabunt. Item, quilibet eorum habet pro roba 100 s. per annum.

‘ Scutiferi inſimul pro capiſtragiis ſuis per annum 36 l. Item, in ſtabulo ſunt 3. valleti ad equos, et quidam alii pedites, quorum quilibet qui ſequitur curiam habebit 8 d. per diem tantum, et prædicti 3. ad equos habebunt quilibet pro robo 60 s. per annum.

FOURRERIA.

‘ Robertus de Fourreria 2 s. per diem. 1. præbend. avenæ, fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s. et 1. valletum comed.

‘ Ricardus de Fourreria 6 d. per diem, avenam, fabricam, robam, sicut dictus Robertus, 1 vallet. comed.

‘ Quinque valleti in ipsa Fourreria quilibet 6 d. per diem, pro roba 20 s. comedent ad curiam, ferviens de aqua comedet ad curiam tantum.

‘ Adjutores in Fourreria mercede conducentur, et non intrabunt hospitium quandiu comedetur.

‘ Capellani et Clerici Capellæ, sicut solent excepto quod loco liberationis quilibet Capellanus habebit 4 d. per diem, et quilibet Clericus 2 d. per diem.

‘ Thesaurarius Turonensis 5 s. per diem, loco liberationis 3 s. per diem.

‘ Decanus S. Aniani 4 s. per diem, loco liberationis 3 s. per diem.

‘ Hostiarii quilibet 3 s. per diem, 2. vallet. comed. fabricam ad duos equos, pro roba 100 s. de candela unam torchiam pro quatuor, et 8 pecias minutæ candelæ, nec amodo percipiet pugneyas.

‘ Portarii quilibet per diem, unam præbend. avenæ, 1. vallet. comed. 6 pecias minutæ candelæ pro roba 40 s. per annum, nec amodo percipient pugneyas.

‘ Valleti de porta, pro toto anno, pro roba, et præmio 60 s. comed. ad curiam, et amodo instituentur per regem.

‘ Lotrix diversus regem, pro radiis 2 s. 6 d. pro victu suo et familiæ suæ 5 s. per diem, 2 præbend. avenæ, de candela 1. torchiam per 4. et 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, pro roba 6 l. per annum.

‘ Quadrigarius cameræ ad 4 equos, 4 præbendas avenæ, pro fœno 2 d. per diem, loco liberationis 2 s. per diem, et pro præmio 40 s. per annum.

‘ Summularius cameræ, et Denariorum scriptorum, et fructuariorum, et capellæ. quilibet pro victu suo 8 d. per diem, pro fœno cujuslibet summarii 3 d. per diem, et 1 d. pro cumento sibi factio pro aliis necessariis

fummarii quærendi, et habent omnes infimul loco liberationis 4 s. per diem.

‘ Item, quilibet eorum habet pro roba per annum 30 s. addito quod 3. fummularii capellæ habent quilibet pro roba 100 s. per annum, et in quolibet omnium festorum annualium, habent omnes infimul 50 s. et duplum illorum 4. solidorum quos habent loco liberationis prædictæ.

‘ Capellanus S. Michaelis comedet ad curiam, sicut solet.

‘ Capellanus S. Bartholomæi loco liberationis 22 d. per diem.

‘ Relicta Johannis Tailliatoris loco liberationis 19 d. per diem.

‘ 24. Conversi, quilibet loco fervitii sui quando comedetur bis in curia 14 d. per diem; et quando comedetur semel tantum modo in curia, quilibet ipsorum converforum, 9 d. per diem.

‘ 8. Rencarii, quilibet loco fervitii sui quando comedetur bis in curia 20 d. per diem; sed quando comedetur semel tantum modo in curia, quilibet 13 d. per diem.’

To this ordinance, I will add another for the household of king Philippes le bel, and for that of his queen, issued at Vincennes in the month of January in the year 1285, according to the manner of counting the years in those times. It is among the registers of the chamber of accounts in Paris, entitled ‘ Pater noster,’ and others which have been communicated to me by monsieur de Vyon, lord of Herouval, and which explain many of the latinised words that are in the ordinance of St Louis.

PANTRY.

‘ Three pantlers; that is to say, one for the king, and two for the common service. Their duty is to procure bread and serve it, and to be ready on all occasions, &c.

‘ Item, Galeran des Nappes, who prepares the king’s feat.

‘ Item, the two butlers, who lay the table-cloths, and have the care of them, &c.: these two, and Galeran des Nappes, to have a varlet, with wages, to take care of their three horses.

‘ Item, two hood-bearers.

‘ The pastry-cook will make the pies for the king, and also for the common table, &c.

‘ The wafer-maker.

‘ The washer-woman of table-cloths.

THE CUP-BEARER'S OFFICE.

‘ There will be but four cup-bearers to whom wages will be paid : one for the king, and three for the common table. They are to purchase wines, to deliver them out, serve them, and even to draw them on the great feasts. They will be present at their delivery as often as possible, and on the same footing in regard to wages, and all other respects, with the pantlers.

‘ Item, the clerk of the cup-bearer's office will account with those of the pantry, and see to the delivery.

‘ Item, two coopers, who will personally hoop the vessels.

‘ A wine cart, with three horses.

‘ Two jug-bearers, who are personally to do their service.

‘ The potman will receive daily for his pots 12 deniers. He will have his food at court ; and, except on the annual feasts, no glasses are to be used.

KITCHEN.

‘ Ifembart, and four other cooks, of whom two shall be for the king's service, and two for the common table with Ifembart. They are to buy and provide meat, cut it up when dressed, and serve it, and see the different pieces properly disposed of. Ifembart will receive his usual wages, and the other four cooks in like manner. Ifembart will receive every evening for his inspection over the kitchen a septier, or eight pints of wine.

‘ Item, four roasters ; two for the king, and two for the common table.

‘ Four turnspits, who will take their place in the kitchen, and have their meals at court, &c.

‘ Four pages, who will eat at court, &c.

‘ Two blowers, one of whom shall be under the other: they will eat at court, and take care that the foup when on the fire, be not burnt or smòked.

‘ Four carvers for the whole household, who will live at court, save that they be not waited on.

‘ The falt-keepers of the common table, &c. will have only two varlets, to take charge of the falt-loaves. They will have for every thing six deniers wages, and be careful the maitre d’hôtel be not extravagant of falt.

‘ The meat-keeper will see to its delivery.

‘ The poultryman will attend to what concerns his department.

‘ Two ushers; one for the king’s kitchen, the other for that of the common table. They will have their meals at court, and receive each four deniers a-day.

‘ Two great carts attached to the service of the kitchens, with four horses to each. The carters will receive 8 s. for every thing; and they are indebted to the king, for each horse, sixteen livres, or the horse.

‘ The cart for small dinners, with three horses, will be paid five fols daily, every thing included, and any loss of horses will be paid for at the price fixed.

FRUITERY AND CHANDLERY.

‘ Seven fruiterers; and three varlets, who will make the candles, one of whom will assist in serving the fruit. They will have their meals at court, and receive together, &c.

‘ Item, two fommiers, one of whom will prepare the fruit, and the other the candle. These two fommiers will lie with those of the king’s chamber, ‘ et ceux qui les garderont aussi, et fera otée la charete du fruit *.’

* I do not understand this.

‘ Item, the king’s own table and that of his brothers will be served with fruit in the usual manner; the other tables of the household with a sufficiency; but in Lent only figs, nuts and raisins are to be served.

‘ Item, twelve great torches to be made; eight for the king’s use, and four for that of his brothers, which are not to be given to any one to carry without doors. The other torches to be made similar to those of the reign of king Louis.

STABLES.

‘ Four equerries. Roger for the king’s person, Denis for the household; Peter Jentens, and another to purchase horses. Each to have two horses, two feeds of corn, and one servant fed at court.

‘ Item, two blacksmiths, &c.

‘ Three servants to attend the forges, &c.

‘ Four varlets of the stable. Varlets of the household, the bouteiller, &c.

‘ Item, it is ordered that the king have six horses for such as may accompany him in his rides to the forests, and for his personal pleasure.

‘ The clerk of the stables to attend to the delivery of oats.

‘ A servant to measure the corn, who shall have 7 deniers for wages.

HARBINGERS.

‘ Colin and Guillot de Pontoise shall be harbingers, and have each, &c.

‘ Item, the king’s carriage with five horses, &c.

‘ Two ushers of the hall, &c. who shall be ready to set off at a moment’s notice, but they are not to be sent on messages any where.

‘ Three porters, &c.

‘ Three varlets of the door.

‘ Item, as chamberlain, Pierre de Chambly shall have, &c.

‘ Item, Pierre de Machau, Hùe de Bouville and Perrot de Chambly, will receive each, &c.

‘ Item, Jean Pomin will have, &c.

‘ Six valets de chambre, of whom two must be barbers, one taylor, and three others, &c.

‘ Two watchmen, &c.

‘ Thirty fergeants at arms, of whom there will never be more at court than two ushers at arms and eight fergeants. They will be fed at court, and keep watch during the time the king is at his meals, having always their quivers full of arrows; and they must never quit the court without leave.

‘ Item, the clerks of the cross-bows, and the fommier of arrows, shall be lodged, and master Peter de Condé will be paymaster of the cross-bows.

‘ The king’s laundrefs.

‘ Ten fommers: four for the king’s chamber, four for the chapel; two others, if it please the king, for the registers and writings, two for the fruit, and each of these shall receive, &c.

‘ Item, the head fommner, &c.

CLERKS.

‘ The bishop of Senlis to wear his mantle within and without doors.

‘ The seal-bearer to have seven sols wages daily, without oats, but with shoeing and horses found him.

‘ The archdeacon of Saaloigne to have three feeds of oats, and eighteen deniers. Guillaume de Crespi, &c.

FALCONERS.

‘ Nicholas de Chartres, Robert de la Marche. Each to have two feeds of corn, and twelve deniers wages: one valet fed at court, &c.

‘ Geoffry Gorguz, &c.

- ‘ Jean de Dijon, &c.
- ‘ Jean Bequet.
- ‘ Guillaume Darqueil.
- ‘ Pierre René, Guill. Nogent, Jean Malliere, Jean le Picart, &c.
- ‘ Mestre Geffroy du Temple, &c.
- ‘ ——— Aleaume de Silly.
- ‘ Monsieur Simon, who draws up the accounts for the king’s butler, to have twelve deniers wages, &c.
- ‘ Mestre Pierre de Condé, &c.
- ‘ Item, for his clerk Jeannot, &c.
- ‘ Monsieur Pierre de Maslée, &c.

THREE PHYSICIANS.

‘ Master Fouques de la Charité for his attendance on madame (the queen probably) shall receive, &c.

‘ Two attendant on the king’s person, masters Dudes, to receive the same pay as master Fouques.

CHAPLAINS.

‘ M. Aleaume, M. Nicolas, M. Jean. Each to have six deniers for wages, two feeds of corn. One varlet fed at court, and one with wages.

CLERKS OF THE CHAPEL.

‘ M. Estienne, Guill. de Chartres, will receive, together, eighteen deniers for wages, three feeds of corn, &c.

‘ M. Eudes de la Chapelle will wear his mantle within and without doors.

CLERKS OF THE COUNCIL.

- ‘ M. Gautier de Chambli.
- ‘ M. Guill. de Pouilly.
- ‘ M. Jean de Pufeus.
- ‘ M. Jean de Morenciées.
- ‘ M. Robert de Harecourt.
- ‘ M. Lorent de Vezins.
- ‘ M. Jean le Duc.
- ‘ M. Phil. Suars.
- ‘ M. Giles Camelin.
- ‘ M. Jaques de Bouloigne.
- ‘ M. Guy de Loy.
- ‘ M. Giles Lambert.
- ‘ M. Robert de Senlis.

‘ The above-mentioned will not have their meals at court, but each will receive for wages five fols, when they shall be at court or in the parliament. On their attendance at the great festivals, they will appear in their mantles.

‘ M. Pierre de Sargines, Giles de Compiegne and Jean Malliere shall hear the pleas at the gate: Giles de Compiegne shall have the same pay as M. Pierre de Sargines, and eat with the chamberlain.

‘ Item, it is also ordained, that no one sleep in the treasury-chamber; but M. Peter de Condé and his valet, M. Pierre de Maenloe and his valet, Martin Marcel, who counts out the money, and Thomassin the chamber keeper, M. Geoffroy du Temple, M. Aleaume, and their clerks, as they have been accustomed to do; and Thomassin will eat his meals in the hall behind.

‘ Item, the almoner to have 2 s. 6 d. for wages, and five pots of wine.

TWO SURGEONS.

- ‘ Each one shall have, &c.

‘ Item, two porters of the parliament, when the king is not there, Phelippot le Convers and another, who shall each receive 2 s. for wages, including every thing; and they shall be forbidden, on their oaths, to take any thing from prelates or others, and that they permit no one to enter the hall of pleas, without the consent of the master.

‘ Item, the master of the revels to have 6 d. for wages, one feed of oats for his horse, and one servant on wages, and 60 s. for his clothing annually.

‘ Item, a wax-heater, 3 d. for wages, &c.

‘ One messenger on horseback, &c.

‘ Three foot-messengers, &c.

‘ The ferrymen at Paris, &c.

‘ One mason, &c. one carpenter, the fruiterer, &c. the bird-catcher, &c. the wolf-catchers, &c. the six falconers, six huntsmen, three under huntsmen, one dog-boy, two archers, six brach dogs, twelve hounds for the chace, which shall have an allowance of 12 d. daily.

KNIGHTS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

‘ Those sworn of the council, the maitre d’hôtel of the king and the like officer of the queen, shall receive 4 s. per day, as before mentioned, the delivery of candles, and two quarts of wine at bed-time. The other knights to have the usual allowance.

‘ Item, the maitre d’hôtel, my lord Hugh de Villers, and the queen’s maitre d’hôtel, the lord John du Châtellet, will each be allowed only one squire, who may eat at court; but they are not to have apartments there.

‘ Item, it is also ordered, that no more than twenty varlets be at court at one time, such as may be agreeable to the king. All the others will receive their dresses at Easter and All-saints, provided they attend the feasts, but not otherwise.

‘ Item, no one to have apartments at court but the keeper of the seal, the grand master of the household, the treasurers, the chaplain and almoners.

‘ Item, the king’s confessor to have three horses for himself and companion, but no more; one servant fed at court, who will wait on them; and their horses will be kept in the stables under the care of their servant. The companion will attend to any other friars that may come, and they will eat in the hall.

‘ Item, Gentian will purchase all the cloth and furs necessary for the king and queen, &c.

‘ Item, the king’s taylor, &c.

‘ Item, all the women attached to the king’s household to have apartments; that is to say, the quilter, or she who may occupy her place, the mantua-maker, mistress Baudran, and all others who have certain offices.’

(CXXIV) *They put on the cross.* See Geoffroy de Beaulieu, chap. 38. Nangis, and our historians. The letter which pope Clement IV. wrote him on the subject of this croisade, and which he sent before his departure, deserves insertion here, as it has never been published.

‘ Clemens fervus fervorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Ludovico regi Francorum illustri, Sal. et Apost. benedictionem. In spiritu pietatis mentem tuam ad Christum, fili carissime, conscendisse percipimus, nam dum in terris corpore militas, cœlestem militiam ad quam suspiras, animo contemplaris. Hic profecto labores amplecteris, ut ibi quietis perpetuitate læteris. Hic etiam indefessum et pervigilem exhibes, ut ibi percepto gloriæ præmio, veluti magnificus triumphator exultes. Tu quidem olim terræ sanctæ pressuras oculo clementis propitiationis advertens illam crucis assumpto signaculo personaliter visitasti, et inibi tam in te quam in tuis gravissima personarum et rerum dispendia pertulisti. Nunc autem illam solito durius affligi conspiciens, quam manus Agarenorum impia usque intrinsecus ad intima lacerat et enervat, motus erga ipsam internæ compassionis affectu, et ad vindicandam redemptoris injuriam, tanquam Princeps victoriosus exurgens, ut misereatur illius regionis oppressæ, cui miserandi tempus advenisse speratur, hujusmodi crucis signaculum cum tribus liberis tuis, et copiosa tuorum fidelium, tam baronum quam militum,

et aliorum multitudine resumpſisti. Ut igitur votum tuum eo efficacius proſequi valeas, quo magis fueris apoſtolico favore munitus, poſtulationibus tuis favorabiliter annuentes, regnum Franciæ, comitatus, et cætera loca tibi ſubjecta, nec non terras illorum qui tecum in ſubſidium prædictum acceſſerint, quamdiu in proſecutione huiusmodi negotii fueritis, ſub B. Petri et noſtra protectione ſuſcipimus, et præſentis ſcripti patrocinio communimus. Inhibentes diſtrictius, ne quis te aut alios prædictos contra huiusmodi protectionis noſtræ tenorem in eiſdem regno, comitatibus, locis, et terris, turbare, moleſtare, aut tibi, vel illis violentiam inferre præſumat, et in omnes qui contra hanc noſtram inhibitionem facere vel venire tentaverint, excommunicationis ſententiam promulgamus, abſolutionem eorum qui ſententiam eandem incurrerint ſoli Romano Pontifici, et Legato ejuſdem in regno Franciæ reſervantes. Nulli igitur, &c.

‘ Datum Viterbi xiii. Kal. Jun. Pontif. noſtri anno tertio.’

(cxxv) *Which inſtructions.* Claude Menard has inſerted them at length in his obſervations; and they are to be found in ſeveral MSS. in the chamber of accounts in Paris. In one of them is as follows :

‘ The original of theſe inſtructions, written in a large, though not a very good hand, was found by me, Gerard de Montagu, ſecretary to the king, and keeper of the king’s charters, &c. and which I gave to the king in his tower in the foreſt of Vincennes in the year 1374. The king gave it to the duke of Bourbon, brother to the queen, who was deſcended from king ſaint Louis; and the king ordered me to preſerve as many more as I ſhould find in his treaſury. He gave to the duke of Bourbon the original of the following inſtructions, which were alſo found among the old records.’

(cxxvi) *To joke.* In Henry of Knighton: ‘ In tantum erat affabilis domino regi, quod burdando petebat a rege nundinas ſibi concedi pro leporariis et canibus emendis.’ Hence is derived the word *bourdeurs*, who were drolls or jeſters that amused princes by reciting tales or ſtories from romances.

In the MS. statutes of the order of the Crown of Thorns, ch. 22. 'At this holy dinner no jester or droll will be permitted to interrupt it; but at the collation of the king, and in the presence of the knights, they may recite, accompanied with low-toned instruments, some ditties to the praise of God.'

This word has likewise been derived from *behourds*, which was a sort of tournament or tilt, performed solely for amusement. But Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on Aufonius, thinks it comes from *burra*, from what the poet says in the following verses:

' At nos illepidum rudem libellum,
Burras, quisquiliæque, ineptiasque
Credemus gremio cui fovendum.'

Scaliger, writing on this subject, says, that Aufonius has made use of this expression, which had lately been imported from Guyenne, where, at this day, jokes are called *bourres*.

(cxxxvii) *To mock*. Guillelmus Brito in Vocabul. 'Nuga dicitur trufa, unde nugor, aris, nugas facere.' The romance of the chevalier au Barisfel,

' Mais que gi vois pour aus trufer.'

Trufari in Cæsar Heisterbach, l. 5. c. 29. and in the life of the B. Angela de Fulginio, c. 23. apud Boland. Willelm. Thorn. p. 2064, &c. Guill. Guiart.

' Et ne cuit pas emplir mes pages
De trufes, ne de fanfeluës,
Dont les histoires sont veluës.'

(cxxxviii) *The count d'Alençon*. Pierre count d'Alençon, who died at Salerno, in Italy, in 1283. M. d'Herouval, auditor of accounts at Paris, possesses a copy of the will of this prince, dated in the month of June 1282, by which, after an infinite number of pious legacies to the churches and hospitals in France, he wills that his body be buried in the church of the friars mineurs at Paris, and his heart in that of the preaching friars. He appoints for his executors his brother king Philip, master Peter de Châlons,

dean of St Martins at Tours, the keeper of the king's signet, or whoever may be the keeper at the time of his death, master Hemery, archdeacon of Monfort in the church of Mans, father Simon Duval of the order of preaching friars, master Guillaume de Châtelairaut, prior of St Radegonde of Poitiers, his chaplain, master Estienne de Malle his chaplain also, an canon of Laon, father Laurence, confessor to the king of France, father John de Samois, of the order of friars mineurs, and Oudart de Val, his chamberlain.

(cxxxix) *Gave up the ghost.* On the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, 25th day of August, at the hour of noon, in the year 1270.

See Giov. Villani, l. 7. ch. 37. 39. Nangis, &c.

Pachymeres, in the 5th book of his history, writes, that Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to the king Saint Louis to endeavour to prevail on him to interest himself in procuring a peace with his brother the king of Sicily; and that when the ambassadors followed him to Tunis, on their arrival they found the king at the last extremity, and his troops in the utmost disorder. The king dying while they were there, they returned without having effected any thing.

(cxxx) *A pitiful sight.* We cannot better express all the excellent qualities of this holy king, than in the words of Thomas de Cantimpré, who lived in his time, in the 2d book, 57th chapter and note 63.

‘ Testor Deum, testor Sanctos, testor et fideles omnes, quod nunquam aliquis regum, nunquam aliquis principum tam necessario, quantum ad salutem et pacem fidelium, protexit ecclesiam, dotavit muneribus, et veris honoribus exaltavit.’

In particular, pope Alexander IV. shews very clearly, in the letter he wrote to him in the year 1258, what were then the sentiments of the church and persons of honour respecting the virtues and excellent qualities of this great monarch. As I believe it has never appeared in print, I think it very important that the public should have laid before it new matter of praise to this great saint in the words of a sovereign pontiff.

‘ Alexander fervus fervorem Dei, regi Francorum, &c. Sic ille Lucifer matutinus, qui nescit occasum, et qui humano generi serenus illuxit, in tui claustra pectoris luminis sui gratiam, quod referimus gaudentes, infundit. Quod enim ex inde obscuritatis depulsa caligine tuum serenavit animum claritate virtutum, tuamque mentem luce justitiæ ac rectitudinis fulgore illustravit, hinc procedit, fili carissime, quod juxta tui status magnitudinem studuisti semper, et studes opera exercere magnifica, teque lucidis et placidis actibus gratum reddere apud Deum, qui te apud homines opibus et honoribus magnificentius sublimavit. Hinc procedit quod ex istis in augmentatione ac defensione cultus fidei orthodoxæ sollicitus, in conservatione libertatis ecclesiasticæ strenuus, in ecclesiarum aliorumque piorum locorum constructione benevolus et benignus, in eorum dotatione ac dotatione largifluus, in gratiis ac beneficiis erga personas ecclesiasticas, regulares et seculares, et in eleemosynarum erga pauperes largitione valde munificus, et in devotione ad nos, et ecclesiam stabilis et accensus. Hinc etiam provenit quod conscientiae puritatem et bonitatem per quam altissimo placeas, totis votis amplecteris, et in ea delitiosum extimans et suave intendere ac vacare virtutibus firmatis ad condignum et honestam affectibus maxime delectaris, ut odore grato de tuis processibus ad dominum ascendente merearis sua potenti dextera ab omni nocumento corporis, et animæ præservari. Digne igitur super his ei gratias deferentes, supplici apud eum deprecatione insistimus, ut tuum in his animum regat et firmat, ac perficiendi ad melius tibi gratiam largiatur. Ex parte sane tua fuit a nobis petatum, ut cum tu quædam bona quæ ad te diversis modis pervenisse noscuntur, personis quarum restituere teneris, et scias te teneri ad restitutionem bonorum hujusmodi faciendam, ac personæ quibus eorum restitutio fieri debeat, scire et invenire non possint, quanquam super his per viros discretos et idoneos feceris diligenter inquire, providere in hac parte tibi apostolica sollicitudine curaremus. Nos igitur qui salutem in te utriusque hominis totis desideriis affectamus, volentes super hoc conscientiae tuæ ad removendum ex inde omne scrupulum remedio consulere opportuno, tuis precibus grato concurrentes assensu, excellentiæ tuæ auctoritate præsentium indulgemus, ut liceat tibi hujusmodi bona pauperibus in

eleemofynam erogare, ac de his quæ taliter erogaveris, liberationem et absolutionem plenarium consequaris. Verum tamen scire te volumus quod si personas, &c. Nulli igitur, &c. Si quis, &c. Dat. Viterbii 3 Id. April. Pontif. nostri anno quarto.'

(cxxxix) *His body was carried.* His entrails were brought to Monte Reale, which is an abbey of the order of St Benedict near to Salerno in the kingdom of Naples, where they were deposited in a marble tomb, with this inscription :

' Hic condita sunt viscera sancti Ludovici regis Francorum.'

The author of *La Mer des Histoires* says the same thing; but Guillaume Guiart says, they were first carried to Palermo in Sicily, confounding, perhaps, Salerno with Palermo :

' Les entrailles de lui ostées
Furent à Palerme apportées,
Où par eles puisque là vindrent,
Plusieurs beaux miracles avindrent;
En un escrin fort et ferré
Refurent ses os enferrez
Desquies a or grant partie,
A Saint Denys en l'abbaye.'

(cxxxix) *Many celebrated miracles.* Guill. de Nangis, Guillaume de Chartres, of the order of preaching friars, 'de vita et mirac. S. Ludovici,' and Louis Lasseré, recount several of them. There is also a collection of many facts that happened in the church of the Jacobins of Evreux inserted in the 5th volume of the historians of France, page 447.

(cxxxix) *Archbishop of Rouen.* The archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Auxerre, and Rolando de Palma, bishop of Spoleto, were commissioned by the pope to make inquiry into the miracles of St Louis; and they employed twelve years in their researches. When they made their report, pope Martin IV. appointed three cardinals to examine it; but he dying

shortly after, the cardinals delivered it to pope Honorius IV. and as the matter was on the point of being decided, this pope died also; so that the canonization was reserved for pope Boniface VIII. who placed him in the number of saints the 11th day of August, in the 3d year of his pontificate, and in the year of our Lord 1297.

This we learn from a sermon which the pope preached at Orvieto on his canonization of St Louis, and from his bull for that ceremony. It follows, therefore, that the archbishop of Rouen and two other bishops received their commission of inquiry about the year 1273; in which year Gregory X. was pope, Odo Rigaud archbishop of Rouen, and Erard bishop of Auxerre.

After this canonization, Robert count of Clermont, son to this holy king, began to stile himself ‘Robertus, filius sanctissimi confessoris regis Ludovici, comes Clarimontis,’ as we see in a charter of the month of January 1300, which is preserved in the cartulary of Saint Genevieve at Paris.

It is worth remarking, that our kings were accustomed to fast on the eve of the feast of St Louis, as we learn from an account of the expenses of the household of the duke of Normandy and Guyenne in the year 1349, as follows: ‘My lord the duke gave in alms to several poor, on the eve of St Louis’s day, a golden crown, because he did not fast.’

See the chronicle of Rouen in the year 1282, to. 1. Bibl. Labbie; and Odoricus Raynaldus, in his ecclesiastical annals, in the year 1278. n. 38. in the year 1281, n. 19. in the year 1297, n. 18. Wadding. Bzovius, &c

(cxxxiv) *To raise his holy body.* The body of St Louis was taken from its tomb in the church of St Denis, and transferred to the holy chapel in Paris in the year 1298, pope Boniface having granted indulgences to all who should assist at this elevation by his bull, given at Rome the first day of June, in the fourth year of his pontificate.

This translation was performed on the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, not in the year 1299, as Walsingham writes, but in the preceding year. A manuscript chronicle, which ends at the year 1322, has these words: ‘In this year, king Philip had the fair body of Saint Louis, formerly king of France, brought from the church of St Denis with great

solemnity, and attended by multitudes of people, on the morrow of Saint Bartholomew, which was just eighteen years after he had departed this life.'

Guillaume Guiart likewise remarks, that this translation was attended by all the prelates and grandees of the realm.

' L'an. M. sans laisser rien ne vuit

CCIIII^{xx}. XVIII.

Fu le cors S. Louys levés

Préfens, entendre le devez,

Le roi qui poi s'en fist requerre,

Et les prelates de par sa terre

La baronie nul n'en doute,

I refu aussi come toute,

Sus personnes brunes et fores,

Fist Diex mains biaux miracles lores

Par cel Saint, et pour ses desertes

Bien monstra qu'il l'amoit à certes.'

Stephen, archbishop of Sens, performed the service on the day of this translation, in the church of St Denis, in the presence of the prelates. The expenses of this ceremony were very great, as may be collected from a journal of the king's treasury, beginning the first of January 1297, to the last day of December 1301, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris. It informs us that there were public festivals attended with great pomp; that Raoul de Beaumont, director of the kitchen, spent 100 livres parisis; Robert de Meudon, pantler, 1500 l. for table-cloths; Alain Breton, horse fergeant to the Châtelet, 10 livres for setting to music the history of Saint Louis; master Guillaume, the silversmith, 300 l. for the workmanship of the shrine or bier; Guillaume de Flavacourt, knight, 60 l. for the expenses of divers works that were made for this festival; the king's fruiterers 2000 l. tournois for lights; Raoul de Beaumont, king's cook, 1500 l. parisis for plate; Geoffry Coquatrix different sums, as for wine delivered, and other things. In short there were given to the proprietors of houses and stalls, which were pulled down at Saint Denis for this feast, 255 l. 13 s. 6 deniers parisis.

The king commanded several persons to write the life of this holy king, namely, monsieur Geoffroy, chaplain to the lord James de St Paul, whose history is in print, and master Peter de la Croix of Amiens. Geoffroy received 30 l. and Peter de la Croix 10 l.

There is likewise mention made, under the date of the 16th March 1299, of Arthur of Florence, notary-public, to whom was given the sum of 200 l. tournois.

‘ Pro expensis scripturarum in examinatione pro canonizatione B. Ludovici regis in curia Romana, et apud sanctum Dyonisium in Francia.’ See the annals of Odoric. Raynaldus an. 1305, n. 14. and in the year 1317, n. 18.

(cxxxv) *Friar John de Seymours*. The Poitiers-edition has *Semoins*; but I believe it must be read ‘ Friar John de Samois, of the order of freres mineurs,’ who is named among the executors of Peter of France, count d’Alençon, as has been before mentioned.

(cxxxvi) *Carried the body*. His head was afterwards separated and carried to the holy chapel in Paris. Guillaume Guiart, as well as Louis Lasseré, says, that this translation took place in the year 1306.

‘ L’an mil et trois cens et six ans,
Ot à Paris joie nouvele,
Car li rois mit en sa chapele
Que S. Loys fist tele faire,
Qu’a tout le monde devoit plaire
Le chief de lui si richement,
Et si très-honorablement,
Que par raison de la bel euvre,
Que li dous saintuaire queuvre,
Le vessel où l’en l’a mis present
Toutes personnes qui l’avisent.’

The MS. chronicle, before quoted, which ends with the year 1322, says this translation took place the preceding year. ‘ In this year, the head and

one of the ribs of St Louis were brought to Paris, without the chin and gums, by king Philip, attended by numbers of prelates and barons, with the permission of the sovereign pontiff. The rib was placed in the church of Nôtre-Dame, in Paris, and the head in the king's chapel, on the Tuesday preceding Japhe.'

The day of this translation is more clearly pointed out by an ancient poet, quoted by A. du Chefne in his history of the house of Dreux, book the second, chapter third, who, after saying that Guillaume l'Archevesque, lord of Partenay, died on the Tuesday of Whitsuntide, which fell on the 15th May, in the year 1407, adds these verses :

' Le jour de son trepassement
Fut icelui jour proprement,
Que le chief du glorieux Rois
Saint Loys, prince des François,
Que l'on dit Saint en Paradis,
Se fu translaté à Paris.
Je ne dis pas aquau propre jour,
Que mourut le noble seignour,
Fut faite sa translation
En l'an et incarnation,
Du chef de ce glorieux corps
(Car il estoit jà pièçà mors),
Mais à celle propre journée,
Que cele feste est honorée,
Par chascun an en sainte eglise,
Au mois de Mai, si com j'avise.'

A confirmation of the antiquity of this festival is to be seen in an account of the king's treasury from the term of St John the Baptist, in the year 1306, in these words :

' Fratres Sancti Augustini pro pitancia in vigilia et festo translationis capitis benedicti Ludovici anno præsentis qui fuerunt, et in celebratione officii, in vesperis, et in missa 27 d. pro quolibet, 16 lib. 17. sol. 6 den. per 28 Junii.'

Among the chattels which had personally belonged to St Louis, and which our kings most carefully preserved as relics, were his missal and his cup of gold; out of which, from respect to him, no one afterward drank.

In the account of the disbursements of the queen's household from the 25th December 1329, to the 8th of April 1330, is the following :

‘ Expenses of the chapels. To the almoner, for having bound and cased the missal that had belonged to our lord St Louis, 20 l.’

In the inventory of the furniture of king Louis Hutin, which is in a roll in the chamber of accounts. ‘ This is the inventory of the butlery, &c. Item, the golden cup of St Louis, out of which no one drinks.’

It is to be remarked, that from the time this great monarch was enrolled among the saints, our kings, his successors, have chosen him for the protector of their sacred persons, and their kingdom. This is the title which Charles VIII. gives him, in letters of mortmain issued at Pont de Cé in the month of April 1487, the original of which was communicated to me by M. d’Herouval. ‘ By and at the request and prayer of his uncle and cousin, the duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, constable of France, explaining, that in the year 1450, being then lieutenant-general of the county and duchy of Normandy, for king Charles VII. he had an engagement with the English, the ancient enemies of the crown of France, in a field near to the village of Formigny, in the diocese of Bayeux, in which engagement God gave him the victory, so that the English were defeated, which occasioned the reduction of the whole duchy and county of Normandy to the obedience of the said king. For this victory the duke, willing to render his thanks to God, vowed to erect and dedicate, in the aforesaid field where the victory was won, a chapel to the honour of *my lord St Louis, our ancient progenitor and protector of the crown of France,*’ (it is the king who speaks) ‘ and to establish two chaplains as vicars, to celebrate a mass daily, and perform such other services as may be thought adviseable for the salvation of the souls of those nobles and others who perished in that combat. For the purpose of this foundation he had bought of Robert de Mannéville, esquire, lord de la Vigne, the lands and lordship of Colombiers, in the county

and viscounty of Bayeux, held from his majesty at 20 l. yearly, as a fief noble, the whole valued at the sum of one hundred livres annual rent, together with a piece of land, containing about three roods, to build and erect the said chapel, which fiefs and land the king, by these letters, grants in mortmain,' &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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